MEDIEVAL MALWA

A POLITICAL & CULTURAL HISTORY 1401-1562

UPENDRA NATH DAY

The present work seeks to investigate the political condition and the cultural life of Central India during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. It examines the inter-state relations during these centuries and focusses on the role of the Kingdom of Malwa. Occupying a central position, Malwa had as her neighbours the kingdoms of Gujarat, Mewar, Delhi, Jaunpur, the Deccan and Khandesh and had to deal with all of them. The Kingdom of Malwa, founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in A.D. 1401 passed through varying fortunes till 1562, when Akbar incorporated it as a subah in the Mughal Empire. The chapter on Hoshang Shah, Mahmud Khalji, Ghiyath Shah and Nasir Shah make a detailed study of the politics of the fifteenth century. The chapters on cultural aspects examine the role of the Kingdom of Malwa in stimulating and re-orienting the local traditions which were lying moribund. In the field of painting, the kingdom of Malwa became a crucible wherein Indian traditions and Persian traditions of Shiraz were fused to give rise to new idioms, which to a greater measure contributed to the growth of the Rajput painting, as well as the paintings of the Southern Kingdoms. The Sections on Music, Literature and Architecture make the picture complete and are very refreshing. The economic aspects

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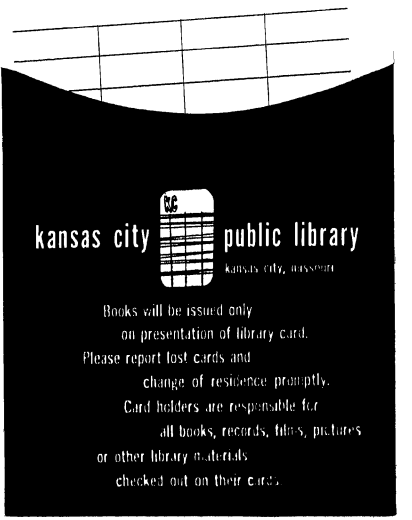

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MEDIEVAL MALWA

By the same author

1 Administrative System of Dehli Sultanat.

2. Bharatiya Itihas (Hindi).

MEDIEVAL MALWA

A POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

1401-1562

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ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
Post Box. 1165, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6

First Edition November, 1965

Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Delhi

Rs. 30.00

Printed at the United India Press, Bahadurshah Zafar Marg, New Delhi
and Published by Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Post Box No. 1165,
Nai Sarak, Delhi-6

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add.	Additional (refers to manuscripts classed as Additional in the British Museum)
Ain.	*Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl
AN.	*Akbar Namah* of Abul Fazl
Badaoni	*Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Al Badaoni
Bahmani Dynesty	*History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, by Major J S King
Bayley.	*Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarat* by Edward Clive Bayley
Bib. Ind	Bibliotheca Indica
Bird.	*The Political and Statistical History of Gujarat* by James Bird.
Briggs.	*History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India*, by John Briggs
Brown.	*Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), by Percy Brown.
Commissariat	*History of Gujarat* by M S Commissariat, Vol I
C.H.I.	*Cambridge History of India.*
Elliot.	*History of India as Told by its own Historians*
Ethe	Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office.
Fergusson	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson.
Firishta.	*Tarikh-i-Firishta*
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Jr.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch
MKINJ	*Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri*, by Mu'tamad Khan
Ojha.	*Rajputana ka Itihas*, by Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.
OR.	Manuscripts in the British Museum classed as Oriental.
Rieu.	Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.
RTKB.	*Tughlaq Kalin Bharat*, by S A.A. Rizwi
RUTKB.	*Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, by S.A.A Rizwi
T.A.	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad.
Taqwim	*Taqwim Hijri wa Iswi*, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, 1939.
Tod.	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
Tr.	Translation.
Wright.	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, by H. Nelson Wright.
Yazdani.	*Mandu, the City of Joy*, by G. Yazdani.
Zafar-ul-walih.	An Arabic History of Gujarat, Ed by E. Denison Ross 3 Vols.

PREFACE

THE study of Medieval Indian History remains partial without a thorough and exhaustive study of the Provincial Kingdoms some of which played a more important role during the fifteenth century than the *Imperial Sultanate of Dehli*. Truly speaking Dehli, except for her name and prestige, was in no way better than any of the Provincial Kingdoms

While the kingdoms of Gujarat and the Deccan have attracted quite a number of scholars to make detailed study of their history Malwa has so far remained neglected No doubt Dr. Ganguli has made an excellent study of Malwa under the Paramars and Dr Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau has examined the history of Malwa following the decline of the Mughal Power and the ascendency of the Marathas But no one has so far examined the history of the period covered by the Independent Muslim Kingdom of Malwa. Of course there are quite a few brief notices on this period which may be mentioned here Malcom in the Memoirs of Central India and Malwa has given a brief summary from Brigg's translation of Firishta, Campbell and Barnes have also given brief historical surveys to serve as background for the description of the buildings of Mandu and Dhar Dr G. Yazdani in that excellent monograph on Mandu has also given a rapid survey of the history, but he too has mostly summarised from the account of Briggs Sir Wolseley Haig has given a brief account of the History of Malwa in "Cambridge History of India" Vol. III; and lastly A.K Majumdar has also devoted about 14 pages in the volume entitled "The Delhi Sultanate" as the sixth volume of "The History and culture of the Indian of People". Thus the sum total of work done so far is meagre and leaves ample scope for detailed study The present dissertation is aimed at filling up this gap, and therefore covers the period of the Independent Sultanate of Malwa, which, founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 1401 A.D., continued through varying fortunes till 1562 A.D. when it was finally incorporated in the Mughal Empire by Akbar.

The treatment of the present study, for convenience, has been done reign-wise While the problems and policies have been treated separately under each ruler, the cultural trends have been examined as a whole. Throughout the course of the present

study I have tried to remain objective and have not allowed preconceived notions to influence my analysis. I have also weighed thoroughly the valued opinions of the scholars and wherever I have differed from them it is only because my findings led me to such conclusions. *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* and *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*, the two contemporary histories, written in Malwa have been utilised to the fullest extent for the first time in the present study.

The present study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Haroon Khan Sherwani and, therefore, my gratitude to him must be expressed first. He supplied much invaluable information and also took a keen interest in the progress of the work. My thanks are also due to Sayid Khalil Ahmed Sahib of Kichhouchha who not only lent me the manuscript of *Maktubat-i-Ashrafia*, but also helped me in my study of the Persian manuscripts. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor and Head of the Department of History, University of Delhi, ungrudgingly extended all help, advice and encouragement in the completion of the work. The affection and care that he extended to me will always remain a cherished treasure. I am also grateful to Dr. Raghubir Sinh of Sitamau for his valuable suggestions and for drawing my attention to some contemporary Jain sources. I am thankful to Shri Agar Chand Nahta for sending published and unpublished Jain works which were of great help to me while I was revising the thesis for the press.

I am also thankful to the authorities, Bodleian Library, Oxford and British Museum, London, who very kindly supplied me with microfilm copies of manuscripts in their libraries.

Last of all, I must apologise to my readers for some printing mistakes which, in spite of best efforts, have cropped in, and I shall always welcome their criticism and suggestions. If I have succeeded in this humble attempt to contribute a little towards enhancement of knowledge I shall feel amply rewarded for my labour.

12th July 1965
53 Varuna Bridge,
Varanasi Cantt.

U.N. Day

INTRODUCTION

FOUNDED IN A D. 1206 the Sultanate of Delhi had to face many vicissitudes during the process of its expansion and development The fourteenth century witnessed both its maximum expansion and the beginning of its disintegration and decay. The Bahmani Kingdom founded towards the middle of the 14th century initiated its disintegration, and by the first decade of the 15th century, Gujarat, Malwa and Jaunpur, too, freed themselves from the clutches of Delhi, each formulating an independent entity While Delhi kept nursing the wound inflicted by the invasion of Timur, these newly formed kingdoms slowly but steadily prospered Thus the arena of Indian politics during the entire fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed the activities of numerous states, each representing its local ambition and not by those of one single empire. Besides various Muslim States, the period also witnessed the revival of Rajput power of Mewar. As the territories of these kingdoms often ran contiguous to each other, it was almost impossible for them to exist in absolute seclusion and indifference to each other; and this situation in its turn generated problems in inter-state relations

For the people, however, the genesis of these kingdoms was of great import The Turks had concentrated their attention in the north and had attached a great significance to the rich Indo-Gangetic Doab, making it the heart of their kingdom Consequently though the distant conquered territories served to augment their material resources, the people were completely deprived of the benefit of personal care and interest of the monarch With the creation of the Provincial Kingdoms their capitals became centres round which Islamic traditions and local traditions began to mingle more freely and thus much of the local traditions which were lying moribund were reorientated under a fresh impulse.

Of these kingdoms, Malwa occupied the most centrally situated position and the policies, both foreign and internal, of her rulers were determined to a great extent by the geographical factors. Hence it would be proper to assess the importance of these factors before we actually proceed with the examination of the policies.

The region of Malwa forms a definite geographical division

of India and like Rajasthan, Gujarat or Deccan bears an independent identity with characteristic features of its own. Under Akbar, according to Abul Fazl the subah of Malwa lay between Bandhun (Rewa) in the east, Narwar on the north, Baglanah on the south and Gujarat and Ajmer on the west In length it extended from Garha (Mandla) to Banswara — a distance of two hundred and forty five kos and in breadth from Chanderi to Nandarbar, a distance of two hundred and thirty kos Thus the Subah of Malwa included, besides the tableland, such geographical regions as Harauti, Nimar, hilly tracts of Rath, Bagad and Kanthal[1] It was on the tableland that the independent kingdom of Malwa was founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri which, under varying fortunes, continued to exist upto 1562 when it was incorporated in the Mughal Empire as a Subah.

The Malwa proper or the heart of the kingdom of Malwa is almost a triangular tableland with the Vindhya mountains as its base. The tableland is almost uniform in height and is about two thousand feet above sea level, providing a climate which is salubrious, pleasant and invigorating Even during summer inspite of the heat of day time, the nights are invariably cool and refreshing which has led to the common praise:— *'Nights of Malwa'* The soil is rich in fertility and mostly consists of a loose rich black loam. The river systems of Malwa have their origin in the tableland and flow northwards, except the Narbada which originates in the Maikal Range and runs from east to west on the south of this tableland. The tableland also abounds in wild animal life which live in the green wilderness of the widely spread conical flat topped hills. Thus we find Nature has provided Malwa proper with ideal atmosphere for peaceful pursuits of life with plenty of scope for material property and ample natural beauty to inspire cultural development. But this land-locked tabeland is not provided with any natural protection, and though it has a fairly good height, the gradual rise of the tableland made it easily accessible to greedy neighbours. The rulers of Malwa, therefore, looked beyond the tableland to such adjacent territories from where any invading army could be checked and at the same time to

[1] Kanthal area was mainly a jungle area inhabited by *mers* and other jungle tribes Its particular importance grew only after the establishment of the former Pratabgarh Deolia state during the second half of the 16th century.

establish such relationships as would promote trade and commerce Thus from the very beginning, the rulers of Malwa followed a policy of extending their jurisdiction beyond the tableland to adjacent regions and thereby push their frontiers in such manner that the kingdom could be more easily defended.

To the south of the tableland lies the small plain region known as Nimar which truly speaking is that part of Narbada valley which lies between Handia in the east and Kotra in the west with the Vindhya Range and the Satpura Range in the north and the south respectively It is an undulating plane and affords ample opportunities for cultivation. But this Nimar plain is easily accessible from the south where the Bahmani kingdom had her sway Thus rulers of Mālwa in their efforts to have an outer frontier considered it essential to have their jurisdiction over Nimar[1] so that the frontier could be pushed upto the Satpura. On the south-east of Nimar the kingdom of Khandesh had been founded and the Sultans of Malwa considered it wiser to turn Khandesh into an ally so as to serve as a buffer against the Bahmanis of the Deccan

On the western side of Malwa, we find a stretch of hilly tract running northwards from the western extremity of the Vindhya range This hilly tract containing the regions of Rath and Bagad mostly populated by Bhils serves as a natural boundary of Malwa proper The nature of the region of Rath forms an intermediate stage between the heights of Malwa and plains of Gujarat. While the region provides great hindrance for general movement, it had a few possible routes through it. For the rulers of Malwa, therefore, it was natural to make efforts to keep a control over the region of Rath to serve as a barrier against Gujarat North of Rath and practically in the same range is the region of Bagad[2] in which the Rajput state of Dungarpur lay North of Bagad is the land of Mewar Thus Bagad formed a sort of barrier between Malwa, on the one side and Mewar and Gujarat on the other. As a result of such a location the rulers of Malwa, Gujarat and Mewar were

1 The valley of the Narmada has more or less always been under the Rulers of Malwa, save eastern Nimar, which being the foreground of the Asirgarh fort has always been under the domination of the Khandesh rulers This division of the Nimar between the two different powers has been the main cause of the intimate relations between Malwa and Khandesh.

2 The division of Bagad took place only about A D. 1520

all equally interested in holding sway over Bagad, and to a greater extent the policies of the rulers of these three kingdoms in this direction were determined by this factor. The rulers of Dungarpur, during the period under discussion, therefore, were always exposed to aggression from these three quarters and generally paid tribute to the one who claimed it on the point of sword

On the north of Malwa beyond the Mukundwara Range is situated the region of Harauti, inhabited mostly by the Hada Chauhans who had their strongholds in such places like Ranthambhor, Bundi and Kotah Because Malwa had been once a province of the Dehli Sultanat, the independent rulers of Malwa always felt that any power that succeeds in consolidating the Dehli Sultanat would not hesitate to re-establish its authority once more over Malwa which was easily accessible through Harauti and Khichiwara with the result that the rulers of Malwa, as a matter of political expediency, tried to establish their authority over these regions. But the freedom-loving Hadas and the Khichis[1] who inhabited this regions did not constitute such pliable human material over which any one could establish a complete authority. The rulers of Malwa, therefore, always sought to secure their loyalty by means of milder policy, and to assure themselves of their loyalty, they not only gave them help, but also created a number of outposts from which a closer watch could be maintained over these petty Rajput chiefs. These outposts thus became very important and for their preservation, the Sultans of Malwa always remained alert

On the eastern side of Malwa lies the region of Gondwana which stretched southwardly upto Berar. The region of Gondwana by itself did not present any political problem to the rulers of Malwa. But Gondwana had a large number of jungles which were full of elephants which in medieval warfare were considered as the most important source of strength. During the period under examination, Gondwana had a number of states adjacent to it of which the important ones were Kherla, Raipur, Ratanpur and Sarguja. While Kherla, situated on the northern border of Berar, occupied a strategic position, Raipur, Ratanpur on the eastern end Gondwana and Sarguja in Chattisgarh were centres from where elephants could be procured. Thus to assure

[1] The Hadas and the Khichis were offshoots of the Chauhans.

of the safety from the side of Berar which was a strong frontier province of the Bahmani kingdom it was important that the Rai of Kherla should be a vassal chief of Malwa The relationship with rulers of Raipur, Ratanpur and Sarguja was calculated on the basis that they assured Malwa of a constant supply of elephants, for which the establishment of the suzerainty of Malwa over them was necessary.

Thus we find that the geographical situation and physical features of Malwa proper, and Nimar, Rath, Bagad, Harauti and Gondwana presented problems which could be solved only by following such policy as would meet the requirements. In shaping the policies of the Malwa Sultan, these problems played a very important role The relations of Malwa with the kindoms of Khandesh and Deccan, Gujarat and Mewar, Kalpi and Jaunpur is a series of attempts to solve the problems presented by nature to Malwa So long as the sultans of Malwa kept these problems before them and constantly made efforts to keep in line with the problems, the kingdom continued to prosper, but from the time they became oblivious to these problems, the process of decay set in which finally wiped off the kingdom

Malwa, a traditional seat of Indian culture, rose to considerable prominence in the beginning of the 11th century when the Paramaras under Bhoja (1010-1055 circa) claimed imperial rank. Bhoja Paramar indeed raised to the zenith the Paramara power in Malwa He not only glorified the arms of Malwa by constantly waging wars against his neighbours, but fully vindicated the cultural traditions by his achievements as a scholar. Himself a versatile scholar he wholeheartedly extended his patronage of learning. Malwa under such a ruler who wrote treatises on poetics, rhetoric, polity, philosophy, astronomy and architecture was bound to be once more stirred up to the same cultural height as it once enjoyed in the days of Kalidasa and Vikramaditya Towards the close of his reign, Bhoja suffered defeat from Someshwara I the Chalukya ruler of Kalyana. Someshwara even plundered Dhar, Ujjain and Mandu forcing Bhoja to flee away from his capital.

After his death the political power of Malwa so much declined that even the title of the rulers was reduced to mere *Mahakumaras* the region having fallen into the hands of the Kalachuris and Chalukyas in A.D. 1055 and continued in that condition till about A.D. 1175.

In the first quarter of the 13th century we find Devapala, son of Mahakumara Harishchandra ruling over Malwa Devapala's predecessor Arjunvarman had retrieved much of the lost power and thus we find Devapala exercising authority over a territory extending from Bhilsa to Broach including Nimar and Hoshangabad districts Devapala's reign however witnessed the beginning of Muslim invasion from Dehli In A D 1233 Iltutmish invaded Bhilsa and Ujjain and plundered them However the Muslim invasion at this stage did not prove better than a mere plundering raid

On Devapala's death he was succeeded by his son Jaitugideva sometimes about A D 1243. Jaitugideva had to face invasions from all sides Krishna Rai the Yadava ruler was the first to invade It was followed by the invasion of Baghela Vishaldeva of Gujarat, who not only invaded but sacked Dhar. As a result of these invasions Malwa was considerably reduced and could never consolidate her power.

Bhoja II who succeeded about A D. 1283 had to face the invasion of Hammir of Ranthambhor and Malwa was again plundered As a result of these repeated attacks and plunders the political power of Malwa was completely shattered and it was only left to 'Ala-ud-din Khalji to complete the process in A.D. 1305, Mahalak Deo the last ruler was in fact a ruler of Malwa only in name. It had already been parcelled out into small principalities under petty chiefs Thus when 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Khalji commander invaded Malwa he did not face any opposition worth its name, and easily annexed Malwa to to the Dehli Sultanate.

But Malwa in the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji was not immediately changed into Muslim country. The rule was practically confined to the important centres with a super imposition of Muslim officers However under Mubarak Shah Khalji and then under Muhammad Tughlaq a greater number of Muslims were settled which included both indigenous and foreign elements. This settlement from a purely religious point of view was a gain because the number of the followers of Islam increased, but politically it had a greater disadvantage. It created a class of Muslim officers who began to look upon these territories as their prized possessions and wanted to retain them at any cost. Thus when Muhammad Tughlaq meted out harsh punishment to the 'Centurions' in Malwa it was only followed

by revolts [1] These revolts under Muhammad Tughlaq in reality were an expression of the feeling of independence that these officers had imbibed That Malwa did not immediately declare independence like Daulatabad was because of its close proximity to and easy access from Dehli on the one hand and comparatively smaller number of Muslims on the other who still could not be sure of local support The mild policy of Firuz Tughlaq did not create a crisis and more so because he did not distrub the provincial governors This is more true in the case of Malwa We do not find Malwa mentioned as playing any important role during his reign It is only Bihamad Khani who incidentally mentions Malik Nizam-ud-din as *muqta'* of Dhar

This comparative peace created a settled condition and it only remained for a more ambitious man to take up the lead and declare independence. Such a man finally came in the person of Dilawai Khan who cautiously but surely succeeded in proclaiming the independence of Malwa.

[1] Barani, pp. 482, 503.

Chapter I

FOUNDATION OF INDEPENDENT KINGDOM OF MALWA

Disintegration of Sultanate—Ancestry of Dilawar Khan Ghuri—Early career of Dilawar Khan—Dilawar Khan in Malwa—Dilawar Khan receives Sultan Mahmud the fugitive ruler of Dehli—Dilawar Khan assumes Royalty with Title "'Amid Shah Daud"—Territories under his rule—Dilawar Khan's policy and his achievements—His death

THE closing years of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq witnessed the process of beginning of disintegration of the Sultanate of Dehli, which, despite all his efforts, he failed to check The South had thrown off the yoke of subordination earlier and out of Warangal, Kampila and Dwarsamudra, the kingdom of Vijaynagar had been founded in Telingana in about A.D 1336.[1] During the Gujarat campaign of the Sultan, the Bahmani kingdom was carved out by Hasan Kanku[2] (Aug. 1347 A D) in Daulatabad. The Gujarat campaign of the Sultan led him to his doom in Sindh, where he died of sudden illness on *Muharram* 21, 752 A H./March 20, 1351 A.D.[3] Thus at his death, he had left the Sultanate seething and his successor Firuz Shah Tughlaq was a man of milder disposition, and by allowing a good deal of liberty to the provincial governors, he just managed to retain their affiliation to Dehli. During the declining years of Firuz Shah's life and after the death of his eldest son, Fath Khan, various parties in the court began to contest for power, out of which, for a short time, Prince Muhammad, the youngest son of the Sultan, emerged successful and was appointed Regent by Firuz Shah. The Regency could not last even a year, and he was ousted by Tughlaq Shah bin Fath Khan. Prince Muhammad had, however, the support of a number of nobles amongst whom was one Dilawar Khan Ghuri, with whose help he finally succeeded in ascending the throne with the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah. After his

1 Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 25.
2 Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 37.
3 Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, p 525.

accession, Sultan Muhammad Shah made new appointments to various offices and Dilawar Khan Ghuri was appointed *Muqta'* of Dhar It was this Dilawar Khan Ghuri who later became independent and founded the kingdom of Malwa.

ANCESTRY OF DILAWAR KHAN GHURI

The ancestry of Dilawar Khan Ghuri is hidden in obscurity. Only Firishta throws some light and says that his ancestor, i e. grandfather, who was an inhabitant of Ghur, migrated to the court of Dehli and became a high dignitary (*Sahab-i-jah*) [1] At another place, Firishta says that he was a descendant of Shihab-ud-din bin Sam,[2] but Firishta corrects himself when further on, he simply says that Dilawar Khan's grandfather was an inhabitant of Ghur [3] In the court of Dehli, his ancestors seem to have prospered and his father became one of the *amirs* [4] The title, Ghuri, was retained by them obviously to emphasise their pure Turkish blood as distinct from the Indian Musalmans or others of mixed blood

EARLY CAREER OF DILAWAR KHAN

Dilawar Khan's real name was Husain[5] and before coming to the notice of Firuz Shah, he seems to have been working as a customs officer[6] in Malwa at Mandu which controlled the high roads to Dehli, as has been pointed out by Mushtaqi The story of Mushtaqi is very defective but it does throw some light on the life of Dilawar Khan Mushtaqi informs us that Dilawar Khan came to the notice of Firuz Shah through a merchant from which time he began to rise. Firuz Shah conferred on him the title of Dilawar Khan[7] ('Valiant' Khan) and he became one of the prominent *amirs* of the State.[8]

Next we find Dilawar Khan playing an important role in

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 461
[2] *Ibid*, II, 460
[3] *Ibid.*, II, p 461
Ernest Barnes says that "Dilawar Khan Ghuri was a descendent on his mother's side of Sultan Shihabuddin Ghori of Damascus Vide *Jr B B R. A. S.* Vol XX, p 241, *Brigg's*, IV, p 168. Ernest Barnes has followed *Briggs*
[4] *Firishta*. II, p 461.
[5] *Ibid*, II, p. 460.
[6] Mushtaqi, (*RUTKB* II, p. 144).
[7] Yazdani, *Mandu 'the City of Joy'*, p 8.
[8] *Firishta*, II, p. 461.

the party of Prince Muhammad *ibn* Firuz during his Regency. Prince Muhammad acquired the Regency and the control of the administration on 10th *Shawwal* 789 A.H.[1] (Oct. 24, 1387 A.D.) when the old Sultan started leading a retired life. The nobility of Firuz Shah, however, do not seem to have reconciled themselves to the rule of the Prince and the grandson of Firuz Shah, Tughlaq Shah *ibn* Fath Khan started working for a revolt. The absence of Prince Muhammad from the capital on a hunting excursion gave[2] the malcontents the necessary opportunity of organising themselves. During this period one of his supporters, Sikandar Khan, whom the Prince had sent to take the charge of Gujarat was assassinated by Malik Mufarrah. On receiving the reports of these happening, the Prince immediately returned to Firozabad (Dehli), and after the failure of the negotiations, attacked the rebels. In the fight that ensued, Tughlaq Shah, finding his position weak, brought the old Sultan on horse-back out of the (Kushki) palace. The old Sultan's presence in the camp of the rebels turned the tide against Prince Muhammad who withdrew from the battle and, finding his entry into Dehli barred, retired towards the Sirmur Hills.[3] But in the confusion that followed his retreat, a number of his supporters were killed and some of them were taken prisoners. Among the persons who were taken prisoners was Dilawar Khan.[4] Thus we find that about 789 or 790 A.H., Dilawar Khan Ghuri was in Dehli and was an important partison of Prince Muhammad. He remained in prison till he was released by the wazir in the reign of Tughlaq Shah. After driving away Prince Muhammad, Tughlaq Shah got himself proclaimed as the successor and Regent by the old Sultan Firuz Shah. Firuz Shah was not destined to live long after this incident and died on 18th *Ramazan* 790 A.H.[5]

[1] Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS fol. 415 b; Yahya, *Tarikh-Mubarakshahi*, p. 145, places it in the month *Sha'ban* 789 A. H. (Aug.-Sept. 1387) Text, p. 137.

[2] Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* p. 145-46. The date of this hunting excursion is given by Yahya as *Zi'l-hijja* 789 A. H. Text, p. 139.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 139.

[4] Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS fol. 416a; Yahya says that the camp of the Prince and those of his followers were plundered, but does not mention the names of the Amirs who were taken as prisoners. Text, p. 139.

[5] Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 148. Text, p. 140; Bihamad Khani

(*Continued on next page*)

(Sunday, 20th September, 1388 A D.) After the death of Sultan Firuz, Tughlaq Shah ascended the throne and assumed the title of Ghiyathuddin Tughlaq Shah on 18th *Ramazan* 790 A H./ 20-9-1388 A D) The new Sultan sent some forces in the pursuit of Prince Muhammad who was wandering as a fugitive in the Sirmur Hills. But the new Sultan was an incapable person and he gave himself up to wine and pleasure Disorder and discontentment prevailed in the capital The wazir Azam Humayun Firuz Khan *ibn* Malik Taj-ud-din Turk tried to placate the people by following a policy of appeasement and reconciliation He released from prison some of the nobles and with them Dilawar Khan who had been imprisoned during the debacle of Prince Muhammad was also released[1] Dilawar Khan seems to have joined Prince Muhammad again after his release as we find him taking active part in the camp of the Prince Tughlaq Shah's reign was a short-lived one A conspiracy was hatched up by Naib Wazir Nizam ul-Mulk Junaidi who got the wazir and the Sultan assassinated[2] in *Safar* 791 A H./ Feb 1389 A.D However, he was also murdered by the Firuz-shahi slaves who raised to the throne another grandson of Firuz Shah, Sultan Abu Bakr Shah *ibn* Zafar Khan. The new Sultan was unable to control the situation and very soon disturbances broke out. Taking advantage of the distrurbed situation, Prince Muhammad occupied Samana and proclaimed himself Sultan on 6th *Rabi' II* 791[3] A H /Sunday, 4th April, 1389 A.D. This was followed by a series of struggles which started from 25th *Rabi' II* 791 A H. and lasted upto *Muharram* of 793 A H./ 7.1.1391 A D[4] when Sultan Muhammad finally secured the person of Abu Bakr Shah During this period of uncertainty,

(Continued from pre-page)

does not mention the date, *Badayuni*, Ranking, I, p 338 has given 16th *Ramazan*, *Firishta* gives 13th *Ramazan*

1 Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* MS fol 418 b

2 Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS fol 420a

3 Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 153, Text 145

4 Dates as given by Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* p 152-159 Text p. 145-151 *Bayley*, p 73 "For a long time a struggle for the throne ensued between him (Abu Bakr) and Sultan Muhammad The latter suffered defeat at first, but in the end Abu Bakr's army revolted and went over to Sultan Muhammad and gave Abu Bakr in his hands. Abu Bakr was thrown in prison where he died and the throne of Delhi fell into the hands of Sultan Muhammad."

Dilawar Khan remained loyal to Sultan Muhammad Shah and rendered very valuable service. In this second attempt to overthrow Sultan Abu Bakr, Sultan Muhammad Shah succeeded in entering *Kusk-i-Hazar Satun* by destroying the Baran gate He left Saif Khan and Dilawar Khan to repair the gate [1] While the repair work was still in progress, Abu Bakr Shah attacked and overpowered them and forced his entry through the gate Saif Khan retired to Awadh but Dilawar Khan kept the forces of Abu Bakr Shah engaged in fighting and reaching the gates of the Sultan Muhammad's residence, informed him of the situation through his trusted men [2] It was because of this valuable help rendered by Dilawar Khan that Sultan Muhammad was able to escape to Jatesar (Jalesar) Soon after in the month of *Ramazan* 792 A H / Aug-Sept. 1390 A.D., disturbances broke out in the capital led by Mubashir Jab Sultani entitled Islam Khan [3] On receipt of this news, Muhammad Shah entered into correspondence with the nobles of the capital and sent Zafar Khan *ibn* Wajih-ul-Mulk for negotiations The defection of Islam Khan completely unnerved Abu Bakr Shah who lost his courage and left for Mewat where he was given shelter by Bahadur Khan, the Wali of Mewat.[4] Muhammad Shah entered Firuzabad (Delhi), the capital and ascended the throne of his father on an auspicious occasion on 19th *Ramazan*[5] 792 A H /31st Aug 1390 A.D. and assumed the high sounding title, Sultan-ul-A'zam Nasir-ud-Dunia-wa-Din Muhammad Shah. Sultan Muhammad's first concern was to secure the persons of Bahadur Khan and Abu Bakr Shah who were collecting their forces in Mewat. After some display of force, Bahadur Khan lost his courage and submitted to the Sultan and handed over Abu Bakr Shah sometime in the month of *Muharram* 793 A H /1390-91 A.D.[6] Thus the Sultan returned victorious to the capital and felt himself secure.

DILAWAR KHAN GHURI IN MALWA

Sultan Muhammad Shah after returning to the capital took

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS. fol 422a.
[2] *Ibid.*, MS fols 422a-b
[3] Yahya, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 157, Text p 149
[4] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS. fol. 423a and 423b; *Yahya*, p. 157.
[5] *Yahya*, p. 158, Text p. 150 · *Bihamad Khani* erroneously puts in 794 A H., fol 424a
[6] *Yahya*, p. 159, Text 151.

measures to replace some of the prominent officers of the kingdom, and for this purpose appointed first of all Zafar Khan *ibn* Wajihul Mulk as Governor of Gujarat on 2nd *Rabi' I* of 793 A H /6th Feb. 1391 A D. Sultan Muhammad gave Zafar Khan a scarlet tent equipage and appointed him governor of Gujarat[1] and ordered him to take over the charge of the province from Nizam Mufarrah Rasti Khan The appointment of Zafar Khan was followed by distribution of some more important places to his supporters Thus Khwaja-i-Jahan Malik Sarwar was given Jaunpur and Zafarabad, Malik Khizir Khan *ibn* Sulaiman was given Multan and Dipalpur and Dilawar Khan Ghuri was appointed *Muqta'* of Dhar *i e.* Malwa [2] All the earlier writers have mentioned the appointment of these four persons to the four places as the same time [3] But from *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, we find that the appointment of Zafar Khan took place earliest on the plea of redressing the grievances of the people of Gujarat who had appealed to the Sultan against the oppressive rule of Rasti Khan Dilawar Khan, too, must have been appointed about this time as governor of Malwa *i.e.* sometime in the year 793 A H /A D. 1390-91 All dates prior to this date (793 A.H.) given by various writers about the appointment of Dilawar Khan in Malwa are incorrect. Sir Wolseley Haig writes that "the date of appointment of Dilawar Khan Ghuri the Afghan governor is not precisely known, but he was certainly in Malwa in A D. 1392 and was probably appointed by Firoz Shah of Delhi who died in A D. 1388".[4] Regarding the second part of the statement, we can definitely say that he was not appointed as governor of Malwa by Firuz Tuglaq. We have seen earlier that Dilawar Khan was in Dehli when Tughlaq Shah organised[5] the revolt against the regency of Prince Muhammad and was also taken prisoner and, therefore, at that time he could not have been in Malwa. Bihamad Khani, besides giving many details, has also given a list of nobles who held important posts under various Sultans. In the list of officers under Firuz

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 14; *Bayley*, p 7?, *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, p 40, *Bird*, p 176, *Briggs*, IV, p 3.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 461; *Commissariat*, p 47

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS. fol. 426b, *Firishta*, II, p 461, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 90[a].

[4] *C.H I*, Vol III, p. 349.

[5] Vide *supra* fn. 5, p 11.

Shah, he has mentioned Malik Nizam-ud-Din as *Muqta'* of Dhar [1]

In *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Nizam-ud-Din has completely confused the dates [2] A modern writer writing on Mewar would have us believe that Dilawar Khan was in Malwa before A D. 1382[3] which is also wrong As pointed out earlier, even if Dilawar Khan was in Malwa before A D 1382 that was in his period of obscurity when he was neither occupying any important post nor he was known

Thus after examining all available data we find that Dilawar Khan Ghuri was appointed governor of Malwa by Sultan Muhammad-*ibn* Firuz in 793 A H [4]/A D 1390-91 after the final overthrow of Sultan Abu Bakr Shah which took place in *Muharram* 793 A H /Dec 1390-Jan 1391 A D The Regency of Prince Muhammad took place in 789 A H /A D 1387 and lasted only a few months but the distribution of offices to these four persons did not take place then All authorities clearly mention that Sultan Muhammad rewarded these persons for their support and loyalty towards him in his days of adversity Hence all dates prior to 793 A H. should be rejected.

[1] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, MS. fol 117a.

[2] *T A* III p 289 Nizam-ud-Din says that Dilawar Khan came to Malwa in 809 A.H and that he died in 829 A H.

Both these dates are incorrect. Dilawar Khan died in 809 A H Thus the dates of Dilawar Khan's arrival and his death as given by Nizam-ud-Din are to be passed over as self-evident errors and need no discussion.

[3] G N Sharma, '*Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, p. 9. Dr. Sharma says that Kshetra Singh who succeeded about A D 1364 worthily upheld his station by capturing and annexing Ajmer, Jahazpur, Mandalgarh and Chhappan and by obtaining a victory over Ami Shah alias Dilawar Khan Ghuri of Malwa." Thus according to Dr. Sharma Dilawar Khan Ghuri should have been in Malwa earlier than A.D 1382 the year when Kshetra Singh died and was succeeded by Lakha. It can only refer to the victory of Kshetra Singh over Ami Shah who was not, at that time, occupying any post of consequence, but as subsequently he became prominent and ultimately became independent ruler of Malwa, this victory was boasted of by the Rajputs.

[4] Wright while studying the coinage of Malwa had correctly found out the date of Dilawar's appointment as he writes, "In 804 A.H /1401 A D Dilawar Khan Ghori, who had been appointed governor of Malwa by Muhammad IV of Dehli some ten years previously, assumed royal state." Vide. Wright H N., *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II. p. 241.

FROM GOVERNORSHIP TO INDEPENDENCE

Dilawar Khan took his residence at Dhar which was in those days the headquarters of the province From Dhar he gradually extended his authority to the country-side and restored order in the province through his prowess and through the support of the nobles.[1] Dilawar Khan seems to have prospered in Malwa and the country witnessed comparative peace under him He repaired and renovated the old mosque in Dhar in a beautiful fashion in 795 A H /A D 1392-93, when he was still acting as governor of Malwa [2] While Dilawar was busy in Malwa, Sultan Muhammad *ibn* Firuz died on 17th *Rabi' I* 796 A H [3] Tuesday, Jan. 20, 1394 A D and was succeeded by his eldest son who assumed the title of Sultan 'Alaud-Din Sikandar Shah. Though the new Sultan was just and strong but he was broken in health and after a rule of one month and sixteen days died on 5th *Jumada I* 796 A H /March 8, 1394 A D [4] He was succeeded by his younger brother with regnal title of Nasir-ud-Dunya-wa Din Mahumd Shah whose coronation took place on 20th *Jumada I* 796 A.H [5]/Monday 23rd March, 1394 A D

The accession of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah was accompanied by great disturbances and even his formal corona-

[1] *Firishta* II, p 401, *Haft Gulshan*, fol 117b

[2] *Jr BBRAS* Vol. XIX, 1903-02 p 349 fn 1 Ernest Barnes writes "Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this (Kamal Maula Mosque) enclosure. It is dated 795 A.H. / 1395 A D i.e prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughlaq, the small and ancient mosque of Dhar which had fallen into ruins through the ravages of time were prepared in a beautiful fashion by Khan Fahk Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa) "

This note of Ernest Barnes needs two corrections —

(1) 795 A H is equal to A D 1392-93 and not A D 1395 as converted by him.

(2) Mahmud Shah should be read as Muhammad Shah, who was ruling in Dehli in 795 A H Mahmud Shah was the third son of Sultan Muhammad and grandson of Firuz and ascended the throne in 796 A.H

For inscription see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemeca*, 1909-10, p 16

[3] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 162 Text p 154, *Bayley*, p 75 Bayley gives the year but does not mention the day, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 16

[4] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 163 Text, p. 155, *Bayley*, p 75.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 164. Text p. 156; *Bayley*, p. 76; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 16.

tion was delayed by a few days The important nobles began to quarrel with each other and soon set up a rival Sultan. In these disturbances, the two important rivals were Tatar Khan, son of Zafar Khan of Gujarat and Mallu Khan. Sultan Mahmud found it difficult to control these nobles Tatar Khan soon took up the cause of Nasrat Khan, a cousin of Mahmud Shah, and the rival claimant to the throne

During this period of disturbances, Dilawar Khan was busy in consolidating his position. It is obvious that Dilawar Khan had a first-hand knowledge of the geography of the country of Malwa, and fully realised the importance of forts, particularly of Mandu Firishta clearly says that Dilawar Khan used to visit Mandu from time to time to supervise the construction[1] of further fortifications and on occasions stayed there overnight.

Dilawai Khan was fully conscious of his position in Malwa and also his comparative weakness because of the absence of many fortified places and the relative strength of Zafai Khan in Gujarat. Except Dhar and Mandu, no other place had a complete defence. Thus he continued to show his alliegiance to Delhi. But during the period of disturbances following the accession of Sultan Mahmud, he seems to have discontinued the payment of tribute to Delhi[2] and this was considered by his more ambitious son Alp Khan as equivalent to independence. Dilawar Khan had fully realised the danger to which his territories were exposed on the western side because of ambitious Zafar Khan in Gujarat. As a fellow officer, Dilawar Khan had a correct understanding of the ambitions of Zafar Khan and his greedy eyes on Malwa, a suspicion which proved to be quite real after his death and with the accession of Alp Khan.

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 461; *Briggs*, IV, p 1698. "Dilawar Khan on assuming independence took up his residence at Dhar .. but although he considered Dhar as the seat of his government he frequently visited the city of Mandu remaining there sometimes for months together." Briggs' statement needs following two comments:—

(*a*) Briggs' translation is defective; it is a free adaptation.

(*b*) That before assumption of independence Dilawar used to go to Mandu and supervise construction work is clearly vouchsafed by Firishta That after assumption of royalty too he visited Mandu is borne out by epigraphic evidence.

[2] It was more so because of two rival Sultans at Delhi, which must have offered the various Provl. Governors an opportunity to withhold the revenue.

Thus, by tact and show of friendship, he managed to keep Zafar Khan off from Malwa

In Dehli, while the dispute between Mahmud and Nasrat was still proceeding, the news of Timur's arrival and crossing the Indus was received. The news completely unnerved the rivals and their partisans Tatar Khan after his failure in his attempt to raise Nasrat Shah to the throne, had escaped to Gujarat[1] to his father along with his entourage. The arrival of Tatar Khan had further strengthened the already strong position of Zafar Khan

Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud was badly defeated by Timur[2] *Sahib-i-Quran* on Wednesday 8th *Rabi' us Sani* 801 A H /Dec. 18, 1398 A D and on the same night he escaped through the Hudiani gate while Mallu Iqbal escaped through Barka gate. Mahmud now began to move from place to place as a fugitive and in that state he turned towards Gujarat

The fugitive Sultan Mahmud reached Gujarat sometime in 801[3] A.H /1398-99 A.D. On reaching Pattan, the Capital of Gujarat, Sultan Mahmud was well received by Zafar Khan who

[1] Regarding the date of Tatar Khan's arrival in Gujarat, the following observations are worth noting —

(*i*) *Bird*, in fn p 178 says "Tatar Khan seems to have fled to his father in Gujarat sometime about the middle of A H 800, which beginning on 24th Sept 1397 A D. would place it somewhere about April or May 1398 A D"

(*ii*) *Firishta*, I, p 280 says Tatar Khan filed to Gujarat when Mallu Iqbal Khan laid siege to Pampat of which Tatar Khan was governor on behalf of Nasiruddin Nasarat Shah. Tatar Khan marched to Delhi but was defeated there These events happened after Pir Muhammad Jahangir, the grandson of Timur, passed the Indus and which he effected soon after the 1st, *Muharram* 800 A H

(*iii*) *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p 17 Timur started in *Rajab* 800 A.H, for Hindustan

(*iv*) *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 171, Text, p. 164. Yahya places Tatar Khan's final defeat from the hands of Mallu Khan towards the end of 800 A H.

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p. 19, *Commissariat*, p. 55

Thus taking all the evidence into consideration Tatar Khan should have arrived in Gujarat sometime in *Zilhyjah* 800 A H or *Muharram* 801 A H.

[2] *Zafar Nama*, II. pp. 115-17; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* p 20, *Firishta* II. p 461.

[3] *T A*. III, p. 89, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 20; *Bayley*. p 79. Bayley places his arrival in 800 A.H. which obviously is wrong

personally went[1] out to meet him and brought him into Pattan with all honour. Firishta mentions that Mahmud was not pleased with the behaviour accorded to him by Zafar Khan[2] but he does not mention anything beyond this simple statement The author of *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, however, throws greater light and says that the object of Sultan Mahmud in coming to Gujarat was to obtain military help from Zafar Khan and in alliance with him to march upon Delhi[3] Zafar Khan, however, did not consider it a wise policy and abstained from undertaking an expedition to Delhi[4] Mahmud, thus finding no possibility of getting any help from Zafar Khan, turned towards Malwa where Dilawar Khan was ruling as governor[5]

When Dilawar Khan heard about the arrival of Sultan Mahmud on the frontiers of Malwa, he accorded him a very warm reception in a most befitting manner. He sent some of his relations and high officers of the state to meet him on the frontiers and to bring him to the capital city of Dhar with all the show of respect and honour due to a Sultan When Sultan Mahmud was within three marches of Dhar he personally went out with all his entourage to bring the Sultan into Dhar[6] The description of Firishta and the subsequent behaviour of Alp Khan creates a feeling that Dilawar Khan showed some extraordinary humility in receiving Sultan Mahmud But so far as the welcome itself is concerned, we find that Zafar Khan too had extended a similar welcome by personally going out of the capital to meet the Sultan and to bring him into Pattan with all honour. In Dhar, Dilawar Khan proffered all his wealth both in specie and

1 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 20, *Bayley*, p. 79

2 *Firishta*, II, p 461, *Briggs*, IV, pp. 168-69

3 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 20

4 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 20, Sikandar by mistake writes Alp Khan instead of Dilawar Khan as the ruler of Malwa.

Bayley p 79, Zafar Khan had also refused to listen to the request of his son, Tatar Khan, for an invasion of Delhi, which in all probability caused a breach between the father and the son

5 All sources say that Mahmud came to Malwa from Gujarat. It is also not unlikely that presence of Tatar Khan with Zafar Khan might have convinced Mahmud of the futility of his attempt to get succour in Gujarat because erstwhile Tatar Khan had been a partisan of Nasrat Khan, his rival in Delhi

6 *Firishta*, II, p. 461; *Briggs*, IV, p. 169.

in jewels to Sultan Mahmud, declaring that they were at his service He also assured him that he and all his family considered Mahmud as their sovereign [1] Such a behaviour on the part of Dilawar Khan which amounted to subjection was not liked by his son Alp Khan who retired to Mandu and devoted his time in strengthening the fortifications of the place [2] It seems that Mahmud was pleased with the behaviour of Dilawar Khan Khan and he stayed at Dhar in Malwa up to 804 A H /1401-02 A D , when he left for Delhi after receiving invitations from the nobles of the place [3]

The stay of Sultan Mahmud in Malwa, and the behaviour of Dilawar Khan towards him is full of political significance in understanding the relations between Malwa and Gujarat The answer to the question as to why did Dilawar Khan accord the reception and proffer humility to Sultan Mahmud who had lost his kingdom and was a fugitive, living practically on the mercy of others, is full of meaning Certainly such a behaviour was not an outcome of a sense of loyalty towards the son of his old master and benefactor, the late Sultan Muhammad, had it been so, Dilawar Khan would not have assumed sovereignty immediately after the departure of Mahmud from Malwa. The plausible reason seems to be that Dilawar Khan was conscious of his own weak position and had been concentrating on the construction of the fortifications of Mandu,[4] which had not been till then completed. Zafar Khan in Gujarat was already very powerful and Dilawar and Zafar both knew very well the ambitious nature of each other Dilawar Khan was suspicious of Zafar Khan who had already extended his sway and consolidated his position by subduing Idar, Hindwanah, Ajmer, Didwanah, Savir (Sanir) and Duhwarah and Julwarah,[5] before the

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 461, *Briggs*, IV, p 169

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 461

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 461, *Briggs*, IV, p 169 : "In the year 804 A H Muhammad Tughlaq at the instance of Delhi nobles quitted Malwa in order to resume the reins of his own government, taking from Dilawar Khan such quantity of money and jewels as he deemed requisite "

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p 20, *Bayley*, p. 79 According to Sikandar, Mahmud Shah's proposal did not find acceptance with that chief (ruler of Malwa) so the Sultan made no stay but went off to Kanauj wandering about the neighbourhood

[4] *Frishta*, II, p 461.

[5] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 16-18; *Tarikh-i-Alfi* as quoted by *Bird* on pp 180-82.

arrival of Tatar Khan The presence of Tatar Khan had further strengthened his position. The presence of Sultan Mahmud in Malwa must have been considered by Dilawar Khan as an act of prudence, and the position and dignity of Sultan to serve as a strong buttress against any possible aggression by Zafar Khan The suspicion of Dilawar Khan proved to be correct when immediately after his death, Zafar Khan (Muzaffar Shah) invaded Malwa and for a brief period reduced the kingdom into a dependency of Gujarat

Apparently, however, this policy of Dilawar Khan did not receive support[1] from his son, Alp Khan, who did not revolt against his father but simply retired to Mandu and remained there during the entire period of the stay of Sultan Mahmud in Malwa This period of absence from the capital Dhar, however, was fruitfully used by Alp Khan in strengthening the fortifications of Mandu.[2] It is also not very unlikely that the father and the son were working in perfect coordination and understanding, outwardly the son expressed his displeasure only to serve as a pretext for retiring into Mandu, and to utilize the time in completing fortifications which had been already started by Dilawar Khan and also to remain unnoticed

The existence of understanding between father and son is borne out by the fact that immediately after getting the news of the departure of Sultan Mahmud from Dhar, Alp Khan returned from Mandu and offered the fort etc. to his father and induced him to assume royalty,[3] an offer which Dilawar Khan did not reject. Sultan Mahmud left Dhar in 804 A.H. Mallu Iqbal had also returned to Dehli, Tatar Khan too was pressing his father to accompany him to Dehli to expel Mallu Iqbal—an enterprise which Zafar was not willing to undertake and which had produced a rupture between the father and the son. At this time, Zafar Khan had gone towards Somnath[4] and the port of Diu. It was, therefore, the most opportune moment for Dilawar Khan to fulfil his long cherished desire of assum-

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 461 All historians say that Alp Khan did not like this policy of his father which looked like acceptance of the suzerainty of Mahmud.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 461

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 461; *Briggs*, IV, pp. 169-70 Assumption of Royal State after Alp Khan's report to his father about the completion of the erection and fortification is not without significance.

[4] *Bird* fn. p 182, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, quoted in fn. by Bird; *T. A.* III, p. 90.

ing royal insignia Dilawar Khan took the title of 'Amid Shah Da'ud[1] and assumed such royal prerogatives as white canopy, scarlet pavilion and caused the *Khutba* to be recited in his name in the year 804[2] A H /1401-02 A D.

SULTAN 'AMID SHAH DA'UD (804 A H /1401-02 A.D —809 A H /1406-7 A D)

After assumption of royalty, Dilawar Khan divided his kingdom into estates among his officers, whom he ennobled.[3] None of the historians have recorded the events that took place during his rule However, from the loose statements or casual references we find that Dilawar Khan acquired the territory of whole of Malwa[4] He then extended his authority over Nimar[5] which had then fallen into disorder and was mostly inhabited by wild tribes Dilawar Khan encouraged the Rajputs to migrate to Nimar and settle there Dilawar Khan invaded Chanderi and established his authority over the Southern and Western parts of Bundelkhand[6] The districts of Saugar and Damoh which had formed a part of Dehli Sultanate, passed over to Dilawar Khan on his declaration of independence.[7] However, he could not subdue the Chandels who were occupying Kalinjar and Ajaygarha along with the adjacent territories.

[1] *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1909-10, pp 11-12 (Lat Masjid at Dhar bearing an inscription has preserved his title)

Rodger & Beveridge I p 408 "Jami" mosque

C H I Vol III p 349 says, "Dilawar Khan never assumed the style of royalty, though he could maintain no pretence of dependence on Delhi, whose nominal lord was a prisoner in the hands of an ambitious minister" Thus *C H I* is mistaken as we have positive evidence of his assumption of royalty as borne out by the inscription

Zafar-ul-walih p 909 Haj'-ud-dabir has erroneously mentioned the reading of *Khutba* of Dilawar Khan in the course of his narration of incidents of the year 802 A H.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p. 461, says that Dilawar Khan assumed the royal titles at the instance of his son

Briggs, IV. p 170 speaks of coining money, *Wright*, Vol II p 241 Wright too agrees that in A H 804 Dilawar assumed royal state All authorities agree to 804 A H. as the year of Dilawar's regal assumption.

[3] *Briggs*, IV. p. 70

[4] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* MS fol 428 b.

[5] Hira Lal, *Madhya Pradesh ka Itihas*, p 73

[6] *Tiwari* p 80

[7] *Ibid.*, p 81

An inscription discovered at Tapa Baoli[1] in Chanderi during the reign of Hoshang Shah gives further support to the view that Chanderi had been brought under the jurisdiction of Malwa during the reign of Dilawar Khan, though it is not unlikely that the Governor of Chanderi had only accepted the overlordship of Dilawar Khan, while during the reign of Hoshang Shah the place was finally brought under the direct control of the Sultan. It is from the time of Dilawar Khan's occupation that the material prosperity of Chanderi also began[2]

Dilawar Khan not only established his authority over the territories of Malwa, but by his policy of toleration towards the Rajputs and other Hindus living in Malwa, he succeeded in laying the foundation of the new independent kingdom which during the period of about a century and a half of its life re-orientated the rich cultural heritage of Malwa, and gave it a new life, new vigour and fresh hopes. The pulsating life of this new Malwa can be discovered during the period of successive rulers when the military forces of the kingdom were often defeated, but the victor could never successfully annex the territories to his kingdom

Dilawar Khan was a shrewd statesman and was never blind to the vicissitudes to which he was exposed. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances. He married his sister[3] to Ali Sher *Khurd* who belonging to the Khalji tribes in Malwa and thus succeeded in securing the support of the strongest section. He fully realised the importance of Khandesh and when Malik Raja Faruqi became strong in Khandesh he strengthened his friendship with him by matrimonial ties. He gave his daughter in marriage to Nasir Khan, the eldest son and successor of Malik Raja, and took the daughter of Malik Raja as a bride for his son Alp Khan[4] Such a relationship was not fruitless, it secured the south-eastern frontier of Malwa and created Khandesh as a strong buffer between Malwa and Bahmani kingdom. Dilawar Khan also maintained good relations with the Governor of Kalpi and rendered valuable assistance[5] to him against the

[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, pp. 43-47.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1939-40, pp. 43-47

[3] *T A* III, p 291, *Firishta*, II, p 463

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 543.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 440a.

Rajputs (Chauhans) of Etawah Thus he maintained Kalpi as a buffer between Malwa and Jaunpur and Dehli

By his tact and friendship with Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, he successfully avoided the latter's advance in Malwa Just before his independence, by his wise policy of extending the welcome to Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Shah, the fugitive Sultan of Dehli, he not only got enough time for the construction of the fortifications of Mandu but also succeeded in maintaining the integrity of Malwa, where the presence of the Sultan must have lent sufficient strength to his position to cow down those who had the slightest idea of opposition

His death in 809 A H [1]/1406-7 A D , no doubt, came too soon Nevertheless, he did succeed in laying the foundations of an independent kingdom Starting from a very humble position he succeeded to the highest station of a sultan, which in itself was no mean achievement. As a soldier, he made his mark as a supporter of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah *ibn* Firuz Shah, while the sincerity of his character is clearly visible from his unflinching loyalty to Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Shah even in times of adversity, a loyalty which he did not hesitate to extend even to his son

Dilawar Khan not only laid the foundation of an independent kingdom but he also gave new shape to the culture of Malwa, particularly to architecture He started a process of synthesis of Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture in his mosques at Dhar and Mandu, a process which was never checked in Malwa and succeeded in producing a distinctive style of its own, marked by a close synthesis and assimilation of the two styles, which are mostly found elsewhere at their best in juxtaposition [2] He also laid the foundation of Mandu as a cultural centre and started well by giving it the name of Shadiabad [3]

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 29b

سنه تسع و ثمانمائه دولت دنیای فانی را وداع کرد ـ

Firishta, II p 462 Firishta puts his death in 808 A H

[2] Mosques at Dhar and Mandu Details in chapter on culture of Malwa

[3] *Epigraphia Indo Moslamica*, 1909-10 p. 19

Yazdani writes—"Firishta writes that it was Sultan Muhammad Ghori, the third king of Malwa, who gave Mandu the new title of Shadiabad, but the coins of his father, Hoshang Shah, bear Shadiabad as the mint name, while the Tarapur Gate inscription leaves no doubt that the name was given to the City during Dilawar Khan's reign". *Mandu, the City of Joy*, p 9 fn. 1

Thus by his policy of peace, friendship, matrimony and toleration, Dilawar Khan succeeded in not only founding the independent kingdom of Malwa, but even in the brief period of his reign, revived the spirit of Malwa and gave it a new life to live and thrive under his successors

Chapter II

CONSOLIDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF MALWA

Hoshang Shah Successor of Dilawar Khan—Invasion of Muzaffar Shah Gujarati—Hoshang Shah taken as Captive—Revolt in Malwa against the rule of Nasrat Khan Gujarati—Release of Hoshang Shah—Hoshang Shah reoccupies Mandu—Hoshang Shah's relations with Gujarat—Territorial expansion under Hoshang—(a) Kherla (b) Venture to Jajnagar—(c) Conquest of Gagraun (d) Expenditure towards Gwalior—Relations with Jaunpur and the question of Kalpi—Relations with Bahmani Kingdom and the question of Kherla—Death of Hoshang Shah—An Estimate—Policy of toleration—Rajputs and the Hindus—His patronage of learning, attitude towards the Sufis

On the death of Dilawar Khan *i e* Sultan 'Amid Shah Da'ud, his son Alp Khan ascended the throne of Malwa in A H. 809[1]/A D. 1406 and assumed the title of *As-Sultan-ul-Azam Husam-ud-Dunya wa-din Abul-Mujahid Hoshang Shah as-Sultan* [2] Hoshang Shah does not seem to have had any brother, because we donot find any rival claimant at the time of his accession nor do we find anyone mentioned during his imprisonment in Gujrat During his absence, people had assembled round Musa Khan who was his cousin.

INVASION OF MUZAFFAR SHAH

Shihab Hakim, the court historian of Mahmud Khalji I, clearly says that Hoshang Shah was accepted as the rightful successor by all the officers of the state and by the people.[3] All the nobles of the state and the *zamindars* offered their allegiance to him and acknowledged him as their Sultan. But Hoshang was not destined to enjoy a peaceful time Before he could fully establish himself and increase his military strength,[4] he had to meet the aggression of Muzaffar Shah, the sultan of Gujarat. Firishta[5] and Niazm-ud-Din[6] both make us believe that Muzaffar

[1] *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 29b, clearly mentions that Dilawar Khan died in A H 809 whereupon his son ascended the throne

[2] *Wright*, II pp 246-7; *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 37a

[3] *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 29b

[4] *Ibid*

[5] *Firishta*, II. p. 462.

[6] *T. A* III, p. 290 Abul Fazl, *Ain*, II, (Tr) p 229.

considered Dilawar as his brother-in-arms and the rumours that Alp Khan had poisoned Dilawar Khan enraged him and he invaded Malwa to avenge this vile murder. But Shihab Hakim has very clearly mentioned that Muzaffar Gujaratı was an old enemy of Malwa and hearing the news of this catastrophe *i.e* the death of Dilawar, considered the occasion as the right opportunity for invasion, when the new king was not yet fully in control of the affairs of Malwa [1] The author of *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* indirectly corroborates the view of Shihab Hakim [2]

Thus we find that the real cause of Muzaffar's attack was not to punish Hoshang for his supposed administration of poison to his father, but it was an outcome of his policy of aggrandisement and intended occupation of Malwa This policy of Muzaffar Shah towards Malwa passed on as a legacy to his successors and to the people of Malwa it was an insult inflicted by the Gujaratis which they could never forget. Thus a policy of mutual mistrust was created by Muzaffar Shah. Muzaffar Shah invaded Malwa towards the end of 809 A H /A D. 1407 and appeared before Dhar in 810 A.H [3]/A D 1407. Hoshang Shah received the information of Muzaffar Shah's invasion when the latter had reached Ujjain,[4] and hastily collected whatever forces he could, and took up his position in the fort of Dhar. Sultan Hoshang came out of the fort and fought a severe battle in which Sultan Muzaffar was wounded and he himself was dismounted, but in the end Hoshang was defeated and was compelled to take

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 29b

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* p 25, *Bayley* p 84; "From Birpur Sultan Muzaffar went to Dhar with the object of securing the submission of Alp Khan son of Dilawar Khan, who was then ruler of the country of Malwa, Muzaffar intimated that if Alp Khan yielded it would be good for him or else he would be driven out of country".

Tarikh-i-Alfi, *Bayley*, p 84 The occasion of Muzaffar's attack was that Hoshang had attempted to assume the position of an independent prince of Malwa

Commissariate holds that "In 1407 Muzaffar Shah conducted a great war against Sultan Hoshang of Malwa,who was suspected of ascending the throne by poisoning his father Dilawar Khan—he made the revenge of his murder the reason for invading Malwa" *Jr B B. R A. S.* (1917-19); p. 88

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 462; *T A* III, p 290.

Bird, p 183, fn. has "Muzaffar Shah appears to have marched into Malwa in the later part of A D. 1406 or beginning of 1407".

Haft Gulshan, fol 118a

[4] *T A* III, p 289 fn. 3, and (Tr) III. p. 468.

shelter inside the fort.[1] Muzaffar Shah besieged the fort, which was well defended by Hoshang Shah After the seige had prolonged for sometime, Muzaffar Shah, realising that capture of the fort was rather a difficult task, took to stratagem and started negotiations for peace He also took oath that Dilawar Khan was not only his friend but was to him like a brother and that they had strong ties, that his motive in coming to Malwa was not conquest but to strengthen each other, that if an interview could be arranged it would be advantageous to both of them, that his (Muzaffar's) position would be elevated by the presence of Hoshang and that he (Hoshang) would be benefitted by meeting him (Muzaffar), and thus the ties of friendship would be strengthened [2]

On receiving this message of Muzaffar Shah, Hoshang Shah summoned the *Majlis* of his advisers and placed the purport of the message before them for discussion and for their opinion [3] The courtiers were unanimous in their opinion that Muzaffar Shah was not reliable, that he was known for his duplicity and breach of promises They further expressed their view that the rainy season was soon to start and that Muzaffar was far away from his country, that if they could only patiently wait a little longer Muzaffar would be compelled to return and in the meantime, they should continue to talk in the language of the sword.[4] But, it seems, Hoshang felt that he was not strong enough to withstand a long siege and that it was better to accept the offer of Muzaffar, because we learn from Shihab Hakim that Hoshang not caring for the views of the courtiers, was carried away by

[1] *T A* III, p 290, *Firishta*, II, p 462 This battle and defeat is not mentioned by Shihab Hakim

Mir'at-i Sikandari, p 26, that Hoshang shelter in Dhar is also mentioned in *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* Vol II p 134, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Rogers and Beveridge) p 407, has 'the fort was built by Muhammad Tughlaq" "At the time when Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was proceeding to the conquest of Deccan he built a fort of cut stone on the top of the ridge Outside it is very showy and handsome, but inside the fort is devoid of buildings I ordered them to measure its length, breadth and height The length inside the fort was 12 tanabs, 7 gaz, the breadth, 17 tanabs, 13 gaz and the breadth of the fort wall 19½ gaz Its height upto the battlements appeared to be 17½ gaz. The length of the outer circuit of the fort was 55 tanabs".

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 30b

[3] *Ibid*, fol. 31a

[4] *Ibid*, fol 31a.

the words of Muzaffar and came out of the fort and met him, relying, of course, on the words of Muzaffar which he had taken on oath of Quran. Hoshang visited the camp of Muzaffar several times and returned safely and thus fell off his guard. When he was off his guard one day he was arrested and handed over to the guards.[1]

Muzaffar Shah, after imprisoning Hoshang Shah, annexed the kingdom of Malwa and appointed his own brother, Nusrat Khan,[2] as the governor with a necessary force of elephants etc. After making necessary arrangements, Muzaffar Shah returned to Gujarat taking Hoshang as a capitive.[3] Hoshang Shah seems to have succeeded in gaining certain amount of popularity and by his policy of toleration had created a sort of feeling which was injured by the administrative policy of Nusrat Khan. Nusrat Khan behaved very harshly towards the people He not only levied heavy extortions but inflicted severe and cruel punishments for small offences.[4] Very soon a reaction took place amongst the people of Malwa and the soldiers that had been scattered, collected near Dhar and attacked Nusrat Khan.[5] This attack was so severe that Nusrat Khan lost

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 31 b. Against this version of Shihab Hakim we find *Firishta* (II, p.235) and Nizam-ud-din (*T.A.*III, p. 290) stating that Hoshang Shah came out of the fort and surrendered himself to Muzaffar Shah and sought his protection, where he along with his nobles was immediately imprisoned and handed over to the custodians.

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p. 26 also corroborates this view.

But Shihab Hakim's version is more full and nearer the truth.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 31b. 32a, Shihab Hakim calls him brother of Muzaffar Shah; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 26 also has Nusrat Khan; *Firishta*, II, p. 462; *T. A.* III, p. 290 has Nasir Khan.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 31b; *Bayley*, p. 85; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 26

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 31b. 32a.

چوں نصرت خان بولایت قابض شد ظلم و تعدی فوق الحد آغاز نہاد ۔

Firishta II, p. 462; *T. A.* III, (Tr) p.469; Both Firishta and Nizam-ud-din mention: Nusrat Khan was inexperienced in administration and in the very first year he demanded from raiyats enhanced rates of taxes and otherwise ill-treated them. Firishta adds from *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, that Nusrat Khan disgusted not only the people of Malwa but the Gujarati troops also who were with him. A large number of them deserted. The nobles of Malwa put Musa Khan, who was a cousin of Hoshang, on the throne

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 32b.

his courage and leaving behind everything escaped,[1] and much booty fell into the hands of Malwi soldiers and nobles. But very soon they realised that Muzaffar's vengeance would fall upon them and, therefore, to protect themselves, they entered the fort of Mandu Shahiabad and erected their quarters within the fort. The fortifications of Mandu had been almost completed by Hoshang Shah and thus the nobles felt more secure within this fort.

After taking up their quarters inside the fort of Mandu, the nobles, elected Musa Khan who was a cousin of Hoshang Shah as their leader,[2] and by the month of *Rajab* 811 A.H./ Nov.-Dec. 1408 A.D. they were fully in possession of the fort with full control over its fortifications[3] and ready to defend themselves. Thus the Gujarat occupation of Malwa ended as a result of local resistance.

RELEASE OF SULTAN HOSHANG SHAH

When the news of Nusrat Khan's failure to hold Malwa and the ascendancy of the nobles of Malwa under the leadership of Musa Khan reached Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah's first reaction was to raid Malwa and inflict severe punishment on the people by bringing about destruction in the country, but on second thoughts, he realised the difficulty of holding Malwa. He also realised that the Malwi army was strong and was determined to resist the Gujaratis; besides, the fort of Shadiabad Mandu was strong enough to resist Gujarat arms for a considerable period of time.[4] Muzaffar Shah found he had followed a wrong policy and summoned his courtiers for their counsel.[5]

According to Shihab Hakim, the courtiers of Muzaffar Shah advised him to set Hoshang Shah free who alone, according to

[1] *Ibid.* fol. 32 b; *T. A.* III, (Tr) p. 469; *Firishta*, II, p. 462. According to Firishta, when Nusrat Khan was driven out of Dhar and was further pursued by the soldiers, instead of going to Gujarat, he took shelter in the fort of Shadiabad Mandu as he was afraid of Muzaffar Shah.

If this statement of Firishta be true, it only means that he was subsequently driven out of the fort of Mandu by the Malwis under the leadership of Musa Khan.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 32 b; *Firishta*, II, p. 463.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 32 b.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 33a.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 33a.

them, could control the situation [1] Nizam-ud-din and Firishta tell us that Hoshang Shah, on receiving the information of the rise of Musa Khan in Mandu and disgrace of Nusrat Khan, appealed[2] to Sultan Muzaffar. While Nizam-ud-din and Firishta almost agree with the content of the appeal, Firishta says it was written by Hoshang Shah with his own hand, a view which has also been expressed by Sikandar. The purport of the petition as given by these two historians was that he (Hoshang) was like a *faqir* whose God and preserver the Sultan was, who was like his uncle and was in place of his father, that such people as were interested in their personal aggrandisement had circulated false allegations against him for their own benefit; that he had heard that people of Malwa had misbehaved with *Khan-i-A'zam* Nusrat Khan and had raised Musa Khan as their leader who was controlling Malwa, that if this *faqir* (Hoshang) was released, he would recover the country for the Sultan and would ever remain obliged [3] Shihab Hakim does not mention this petition, on the contrary, from his version, it appears that on the advice of the courtiers, the initiative was taken by Muzaffar Shah, who released Hoshang Shah from the prison and again took oath of his sincerity and also declared that the late Khan *i.e.* Dilawar Khan, was like his brother and that his intention was never to conquer Malwa but only to strengthen each other Muzaffar Shah also gave necessary military help to Hoshang to recover his country [4] Shihab Hakim also mentions exchange of mutual oaths and promises before Hoshang Shah started for Malwa.[5] It is therefore quite likely that the peti-

[1] *Ibid* fol. 33a

هیچ رای، که تسکین النهاب آتش حادثه ازو مقصود باشد ـ
جز مخلص هوشنگ شاه نیست، چرا که نخچیر هر ولایتی بشمر
همان زمین باید کرد ـ

Commissariate says—"Muzaffar Shah thought it prudent to restore his royal prisoner, who had long begged of the Sultan to release him from the chains of imprisonment and to bind him with the chains of obligation" *Jr. B.B R A S*, 1917-19, p 89.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 463. *T. A* III, p. 290.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 463, *T. A* III, pp. 290-91; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 20; *Bayley*, p 85

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, Ms. fol. 33a.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol 33a.

tion as mentioned by Firishta and Nizamuddin was sent by Hoshang at a time when Muzaffar was deliberating on the problem, and he accepted it, or it is also possible that the text of the petition was actually the text of the oath taken by Hoshang Shah and Shihab Hakim, being a court historian of Malwa, where Hoshang was so much respected, did not like to belittle him by mentioning the petition, but being a historian could not completely ignore the oath and the promises [1] According to Firishta, Hoshang Shah, during his imprisonment in Gujarat, was placed under the custody of prince Ahmad Shah, whom he won over and who begged and obtained the release and re-instatement of his prisoner [2] Sultan Muzaffar Shah deputed prince Ahmed Shah to accompany Hoshang Shah to Malwa to recover possession of Dhar and neighbouring country from rebellious nobles and then to make it over to Hoshang Shah [3] Thus we find that Muzaffar Shah even at this stage took measure to make it appear as if Hoshang Shah was being appointed over Malwa on behalf of Gujarat Ahmad Shah, in recommending the case of Hoshang Shah to the Sultan, was in all probability, expecting a contest for Gujarat throne very soon, and wanted Hoshang to be on friendly terms with him under the burden of obligation But fate decreed otherwise Ahmad and Hoshang were in friendly camps for the first and last time when they marched against Musa Khan's occupation of Malwa Once Hoshang Shah had succeeded in getting a hold over Malwa, he made constant efforts to avenge the insult and disgrace that he had suffered from the hands of the Gujarati Sultan; besides, he felt that the obligation of Muzaffar was nothing because he was released as a matter of policy, and the sanctity of oath could not weigh on his conscience, because earlier Muzaffer had broken his oath and had imprisoned him by treachery. Thus he adopted a hostile policy towards Gujarat which was left by him as a legacy to the future Sultans of Malwa. The Gujaratis on their part never failed to boast of this imprison-

[1] I am led to conclude so because of the language and the manner in which Hoshang Shah is addressed throughout in the *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p. 357.

[3] *T A* III, p. 201, In Tr. p. 470 by mistake the date is given as 821 A H. instead of 811 A. H.; *Bayley*, p 85, *Mirat-i-Sikandari* p 26; *Firishta*, II, p. 463.

ment[1] and thus cordial relations between these two states could never be established

Prince Ahmad accompanied Hoshang Shah upto Dhar and easily occupying the place and some neighbouring districts, handed them over to Hoshang Shah and himself returned to Gujarat [2]

SULTAN HOSHANG REOCCUPIES MANDU

After the return of Prince Ahmad, Hoshang Shah remained for sometime in Dhar From Dhar he sent a messenger to find out the situation in Mandu and also to contact his friends and to convey to them the news of his return.[3] It is also quite likely that he sent the information and message of friendship to Musa Khan as well, because Shihab Hakim clearly mentions that Musa Khan who was full of pride and airs of leadership did not submit to the friendly overtures of Hoshang [4] The nobles and leaders in the fort of Mandu were glad to receive this news of Hoshang's arrival and more so because of his friendly attitude towards them But as their family and children were inside the fort, they could not openly come out of the fort and

[1] The boasting of the Gujaratis is borne out by the following reply of Qutb-ud-Din to Mahmud Khalji I

اگر چوگان بدست آرم، سرت حوں گوی بردارم
ولی ننگ است ازبن کارم، اسیر خود چه آزارم

"In this couplet there is a hint to the fact, that Sultan Hoshang, who was the master and patron of Sultan Mahmud, had been captured and had been kept as a prisoner by Sultan Muzaffar Shah, who had, however, afterwards treated him with favour and had given back to him the kingdom of Malwa"

Vide *T.A*, III, p 128 and (Tr.) p. 229

The same couplet has been reproduced in *Zafar-ul-Walih*, p. 9.

[2] *Firishta* II, p 463; *TA* III. p 291., *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 33a, *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, op Cit. *Bayley*, fn. p 85.; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 26. Sikandar says wrongly that Musa Khan had not the strength to resist Ahmad Shah and took to flight The prince placed Alp Khan in Mandu and returned

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 33a. Shihab Hakim mentions that it was here (in Dhar) that Hoshang learnt about Musa Khan's control over Mandu, which is quite in conformity with the view taken by him earlier. But from Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din, we learn that Hoshang was already in the knowledge of Musa Khan's control over Mandu.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 33b.

join Hoshang Shah and thereby leave them at the mercy of Musa Khan.[1]

Sultan Hoshang, finding that friendly overtures were of no avail, adopted a strategic move He moved south and occupied Maheshwar on the Narbada and started ravaging the countryside and making attacks on the fort Musa Khan also took up the defence and sent parties to fight, which took place almost every day[2] Thus the struggle was prolonged Though Hoshang Shah did not succeed in reducing the fort of Mandu, but his move of attacking from the south led Musa Khan to make a counter attack and did not allow him sufficient opportunity to keep a close watch over the activities of the nobles inside the fort, which gave them the necessary opportunity to exploit the possibilities of escape, and rendering help to Hoshang. In the meantime, Hoshang, finding the fort invincible, was advised by his counsellors to move further into the interior[3] of the country. Sultan Hoshang then, by sending his forces, brought the *qasbas* and the *parganas* under his control,[4] and thus succeeded in preventing the revenue from reaching Mandu. On receiving this news, Malik Mughith took up the cause of Hoshang Shah.[5] That Malik Mughith now took up the cause of Hoshang indicates that Hoshang's position had improved, and as a shrewd politician Mughith saw the opportunity for such a move when he was sure to convince the nobles who must also have felt that Mandu was cut off from the rest of the country.

Malik Mughith was related both to Musa Khan and Hoshang. Malik Mughith's mother was Hoshang's paternal aunt and she had brought up Hoshang when he was young, besides, Hoshang and Mughith had been friends and companions in their younger days.[6]

Malik Mughith discussed with Malik Khizir, popularly called Mam Akha, the qualities of Hoshang Shah and his superiority over Musa Khan He successfully convinced Malik Khizir that the throne legally belonged to Hoshang, whose father was the founder of the independent kingdom of Malwa, and comparing Musa Khan and Hoshang Shah, while all the time main-

[1] *Ibid*, fol 33b, *Firishta*, II, p. 463, *T.A* III, p 291
[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 33b, *Firishta*, II p 463, *T.A* II, p 291
[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 33b, *Firishta*, II, p 463, *T A* II, p 292
[4] *Firishta*, II, p 463
[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol., 33b
[6] *Ibid*, fol., 33b Firishta and Nazim-ud-Din have followed Shihab Hakim

taining that both of them were related to him, he represented Hoshang Shah to be a more desirable person for the betterment of the country.[1] Malik Mughith and Malik Khizir then quietly left the fort in the darkness of the night and reached the camp of Hoshang Shah, who welcomed them and made Malik Mughith his *Naib* and chief adviser The desertion of two prominent nobles completely unnerved Musa Khan who, losing all hopes, agreed to vacate the fort and after some arrangement, vacated the fort. Sultan Hoshang entered the fort of Mandu by one gate and Musa Khan left it by another [2]

After occupying Shadiabad Mandu, Hoshang Shah started the organisation of the administrative machinery. Malik Mughith, who had helped him in gaining the fort of Mandu and who was already his *Naib*, was given the title of *Malik-ush-Sharq*[3] and was appointed as Wazir *i e*, he was made the Wazir as well as his deputy and representative

For Hoshang Shah, matters did not immediately change with his reoccupation of Mandu The country had to be assured of a stable government with an administrative policy that would not discriminate between the subjects His imprisonment and disgrace within a year of his accession convinced him that in Gujarat lay the real enemy of Malwa. While thinking of Gujarat, he could not remain oblivious of the power of Bahmani Kingdom in the south-east and of Jaunpur Kingdom in the north-east. But Gujarat being his principal enemy, most of his energies were directed towards that kingdom By giving aid to petty Rajput

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 33b

اگرچه موسی خان مارا نیز برادرست اما هوشنگ شاه
صاحب ولایت بارث هم باستحقاق است ـ

[2] *Ibid*, fol 35a,

Firishta, II, p 463, *Tarikh-i-Alfi* says 'Malik Mughith took the part of Hoshang and fled out of Mandu This began to break up Musa Khan's party and eventually he found himself unable to hold Mandu and marched out of one gate as Hoshang walked in by another". Loc Cit. *Firishta*. Nizam-ud-din says that Musa Khan losing all hopes negotiated with Malik Mughith, that he was willing to vacate Mandu if some quarter was provided to him After much discussion a place was fixed for him and he evacuated the fort and went away and Hoshang entered the fort. *T.A.* III, p. 292.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 464 has *Malik Ashraf*; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 35; *T A* III, p 292.

Chiefs of Gujarat in their revolts, he tried to keep the Gujarati Sultan busy at home He also revived the friendship with Khandesh where he already had family ties with the ruling house

HOSHANG SHAH'S RELATIONS WITH GUJARAT

Ever since his return from Gujarat and reoccupation of Malwa, Hoshang Shah was secretly sheltering in his heart his grudge against the Gujarat Sultan and was quietly looking for an opportunity to avenge his disgrace But so long as Muzaffar Shah was living, he could never feel himself strong enough to take up cudgels with Gujarat and patiently devoted his time in consolidating his position, organising the government and strengthening the army As a shrewd diplomat, he had gained the confidence of Prince Ahmad through whose mediation he had succeeded in securing his release, but during his stay in Gujarat he seems also to have realised the possibility of a disputed succession in Gujarat, and therein lay his chance of retrieving his lost prestige. Hoshang's anticipation proved to be correct. Muzaffar Shah died on 8th *Rabi'II* 814 A H [1]/28th July 1411 A D., and was succeeded by Prince Ahmad, his grandson[2] who had already acquired reins of administration during the closing days of Sultan's life But the succession of Ahmed Shah did not remain unchallenged His two uncles,[3] Firuz Khan and Haibat Khan, raised the standard of revolt and Firuz Khan was proclaimed as ruler in Broach (*Bahroj*)[4] Firuz Khan also received the support of quite a number of nobles, though the army remained loyal to Prince Ahmad

HIS FIRST ATTEMPT

The rebels under Firuz sought the help of Sultan Hoshang, who, anxiously watching the current of events as well as an opportunity, readily accepted the invitation and agreed to help Firuz Khan provided he was paid one lakh of *tanks*

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 358; *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II p 134, *T A* III, p 95, Nizam-ud-din says, Muzaffar died in the month of *Safar* 814 A H /May, June, 1411 A.D *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 28, has end of *Safar* See also *Proceedings Indian History Congress*, 1956, pp 231-37

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 37a, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p. 134

[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 358; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 30, *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, p 46

[4] *Firishta*, II, 464, *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, p 46, mentions rebellion, but is silent about Hoshangs help, *Briggs*, IV, p 13; *Commissariat*, p 79

a day as the expenses of his army's march.[1] The move on the part of Hoshang was very tactical as he expected that Ahmad Shah's preoccupation with Firuz Khan and other rebels would offer him the desired opportunity of annexing some territories of Gujarat But Hoshang Shah found in Ahmad Shah a rival of great abilities Ahmad Shah, immediately on receipt of the news of rebellion started negotiations, and a minor scuffle between the rebels and the advance guard of the Sultan convinced the rebels of the futility of their attempt Besides, Sultan Ahmad Shah besieged Broach and forced Firuz Khan and Haibat Khan to surrender, but being conscious of the trouble in other quarters, he restored their jagirs to them[2] so that they would become friendly towards him. Thus, while Sultan Hoshang was still busy on the eastern borders of Gujarat, Ahmad Shah was relieved of the pressure of the rebels and despatched a strong force against the Sultan of Malwa. To make the move more effective, he backed his advance force by personally marching towards Hoshang's camp Thus surprised, Hoshang hastily retreated towards Dhar, full of indignation, and shame.[3] It was after this victory that Sultan Ahmed founded the city of Ahmadabad on the bank of the river Sabarmati

HIS SECOND ATTEMPT

Sultan Hoshang got his next opportunity in 816 A.H 4/1413-14 A D against Ahmad Shah, when Sultan Ahmed attacked the ruler of Jhalawar,[5] who sought the help of Hoshang. Hoshang Shah considered it as the most opportune moment to invade Gujarat Hoshang had marched into Gujarat with the clear understanding that he would receive help from the ruler of Jhalawar While he was busy in devastating the eastern portion of Gujarat, Ahmad Shah again rose to the occasion and, though he was beset with another difficulty of a simultaneous uprising in the country of Kutch, he divided his army into two sections One section was despatched to quell the rebellion

[1] *T A* III, p 96

[2] *T A* III, p. 97, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 31; *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*. II, p. 136; *Firishta*, II p. 464.

[3] *T A* III, p 97

[4] *T.A* III, p 293, *Firishta*, II, p. 464.

[5] *Firishta*, II, p 464, *T A*. III, p. 100 records a revolt of a large number of Gujarati nobles.

in Kutch while the other was despatched against Hoshang.[1] When Hoshang found that no help was coming from the ruler of Jhalawar he had no alternative but to hastily retrace his steps into Malwa[2] towards Dhar Thus he again failed against Ahmad Shah.

HIS THIRD ATTEMPT

Though Sultan Hoshang twice failed to achieve his main object *i e* humiliation of the Gujarat ruler, he was steadily building up his power in Malwa. In fact he became a great menace to Gujarat Hoshang, right from the beginning, was following a policy of interference in the affairs of Gujarat and was trying to take advantage of every disaffection existing in Gujarat Sultan Hoshang seems to have recognised the prowess of his rival Sultan Ahmad, and started for the third time with greater caution He planned out a many-sided campaign against Gujarat, but he wanted to enter the country as a helper of the aggrieved people and not as an invader Thus, in 821 AH/AD, 1418 when Sultan Ahmad was reducing the Gir forest and Junagadh, the *Rajas* of Jhalawar, Champaner, Nadot and Idar[3], entered into correspondence with Hoshang Shah to the effect "that on the first occasion there had been neglect and dilatoriness in their service to him, but this time there will be no minutiae left in their loyal devotion to his service If the Sultan would turn towards Gujarat, they would send some guides to attend on him and they would guide his army along a road in such a way, that Sultan Ahmad would not know anything about the advance upto the time of his arrival in the country of Gujarat".[4]

After securing alliance and assurance from the *Rajas* on the west and north-west of Malwa, Sultan Hoshang marched towards Mahrasa in 821 AH/AD 1418.[5] In the meantime, he had already deputed his eldest son, Prince Ghazni Khan, to assist Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh with fifteen thousand horsemen in recovering the fort of Thalner from his younger

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 464, *T I* III, p 101 Nizam-ud-din says *Rajas* of Mandal, Nadot and Budhwal had appealed for help to Hoshang.

[2] *Firishta*, II p 464, *TA*. III, p 293

[3] *Firishta*, II, pp 364-465, *TA*. III, p 293; *Briggs*, IV, p 19, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II p 136.

[4] *TA* III, p 293, *Firishta*, II, p 465

[5] *TA* III, pp 103 and 293

brother, Malik Iftikhar Malik Iftikhar sought the help of Sultan Ahmed Gujarati Thus when Sultan Ahmed Shah entered Khandesh,[1] Sultan Hoshang got the opportunity to enter Gujarat But hardly had Sultan Hoshang entered the territory of Gujarat, when the appearance of Ahmad Shah in Khandesh created terror in the mind of Ghazni Khan who hestily retreated[2] towards Malwa, while Nasir Khan retired towards Asir Sultan Ahmad pushed upto Sultanpui where he received the news of Sultan Hoshang's entry into Gujarat.

Sultan Ahmad immediately broke up his camp and, in spite of the rainy season, he arrived near his capital and then moved towards Mahrasa Sultan Hoshang was informed of the sudden approach of Sultan Ahmad and sought the help of the *Rajas* and also accused them of treachery. He never felt himself strong enough to face Ahmad Shah and retired towards his own country by the very route by which he had come When Sultan Ahmad reached Mahrasa, Hoshang had already vacated it; thus he could get some time to reorganise his army, to take the muster and to refresh his troops.[3] From Mahrasa, Sultan Ahmad attacked Malwa and reached Kalhadah near Ujjain, where Hoshang had entrenched himself by means of artificial barricades erected by him and where Prince Ghazni Khan had also joined him But Sultan Hoshang was defeated, and fled to Mandu. Sultan Ahmad Shah came upto Nalcha.[4] The fort of Mandu was very strong and Ahmad failed to subdue it He then moved north and started devastating the country round Dhar, but when rainy season started he retired towards Gujarat to look after his own kingdom and strengthened its boundaries by construction of forts [5] The cause of withdrawal certainly was not so much the approach of rainy season as internal disorders in Gujarat, where miscreants had taken advantage of the

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 464, *T A* III, pp. 103 and 294.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 465, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II. p 137, *Hoft Gulshan*, fol. 119a.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 465

[4] 9 miles north of Mandu (Zafarabad Nalcha)

[5] "In the course of the wars against Malwa, Ahmad Shah build the fort of Dohad, now in Panch Mahal district and of Jhpur in Lunavad twelve miles north east of Balasinor" Vide Commissariat, *Jr B. B. R. A. S.*, 1917-19, p 107

The building of forts at Dohad and Jhpur indicates Ahmad's attempt at setting up strong forts on the frontiers of Malwa.

absence of the Sultan for a long period. Sultan Ahmad had decided to return to Malwa next year and according to his plans, he set out for the conquest of Malwa in 822 A.H /1419-20 A.D But Sultan Hoshang, finding himself unprepared, readily sent his envoys with presents and also promises of future presents Sultan Ahmad who was still busy in consolidation preferred peace and readily accepted the friendly overtures of Hoshang

Hoshang Shah had by now realised the importance of elephants as he felt that scarcity of elephants was the main cause of his failure Thus to make up this deficiency, he decided to attack Kherla and Jajnagar In the meantime, he seems to have recognised the mettle of Malik Mahmud, son of Malik Mughith, and also the weakness of Ghazni Khan, his own son He, therefore, summoned Malik Mahmud and conferred on him the title of *Khan* and appointed him as the assistant to his father His clear instructions were that Mahmud Khan was to accompany him whenever he marched out while the father would look after the government Sultan Hoshang, invaded Gondwana and reduced Kherla,[1] and also marched into Jajnagar in the disguise of a merchant,[2] only to return in time to find the fort of Mandu besieged by Sultan Ahmed Gujarati. Firishta mentions that the treaty that was concluded between Sultan Hoshang and Sultan Ahmad Gujarati[3] could last only for two years when Sultan Ahmad was forced to take the field because of the disturbing activities of Hoshang But Firishta,[4] too, seems not to have been satisfied with this information, as he subsequently refers to *Tarikh-i-Alfi* [5] Sultan Hoshang's success against Rai Nar Singh of Kherla had strengthened his position and he had also secured some elephants This was a disturbing news for Ahmad Shah Gujarati as he was always apprehensive of the growing strength of the Malwa ruler But internal condition of Gujarat did not permit him to undertake an engagement immediately against Sultan Hoshang. But when the news reached Sultan Ahmad that Hoshang Shah had left Malwa for distant country of Jajnagar he found his opportunity and

[1] Details under Hoshang's expansion towards east

[2] Discussed under sub-heading "Hoshang's venture to Jajnagar'

[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 365

[4] *Ibid.*, II, p. 366

[5] *Ibid.*, II, p 366.

invaded Malwa[1] in 825 A H./1421-22 A D. His first attack was at Maheshwar and after reducing the place, he marched to Mandu, and, at the same time, despatched detachments to plunder the country He had, at this stage, completely subdued Malwa and no opposition worth the name could be offered to him During the rainy season of the year, he moved to Ujjain, and his detachments helped his men to collect the *khareef* revenue from several districts[2] Sultan Ahmad Gujarati was determined to reduce Mandu, and to cripple the government there, he had secured the revenue for himself. But as the fort was very strong he ordered battering rams and engines which were rather heavy and normally did not accompany the Sultan when he marched out, to be brought from Gujarat for use against Mandu. After these siege engines had arrived under Malik Muqarrib from Ahmadabad, he renewed his siege of Mandu In the meantime, Sultan Hoshang, on his arrival in Kherla, had received information of the siege of Mandu. From the information of the conditions and measures taken by Ahmad Shah, he also realised the determined nature of the invasion Therefore, as a precautionary measure to safeguard his rear, he lured out the Rai of Kherla, took him under his custody, and appointed his own men in Kherla so that he might have a second fort to retire to in case of emergency[3] After securing his rear, he quietly marched and entered into Mandu through the Tatapur Gate situated on the southern side of the fort Mulla Ahmad says that Sultan Ahmad Shah detached Malik Muqarrib to secure the approach to the fort by the Tarapur gate[4] But before Malik Muqarrib could close the approaches to the gate, Hoshang Shah had already entered the fort by the Tarapur gate. The arrival of Sultan Hoshang was followed by great rejoicing and the return of the

[1] *T A* III, p 109, has *Rabi'*II. 825/27th March 1422 A D.; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 52, has 2nd *Rabi'*I. 825/24th Feb. 1422 A.D.; *Firishta*, II, p 366, *Commissariat*, p 88

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, 53 Ahmed Shah moved to Ujjain on 1st *Jamada* II 825/23rd May 1422 A D and distributed Dipalpur to Malik Mukhlis, Kaytha to Malik Farid, Mahendrapur to Iftikhar-ul-Mulk. These amirs sent their agents and collected the revenue of *Khareef* crop.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 407.

[4] *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, as quoted by Firishta; *Firishta*, II, pp 367, 368; *T.A.* III p 297

Sultan was announced by hoisting flags and by beating of drums and by trumpets,[1] to the great chagrin of Ahmad Shah Ahmed Shah, thus baffled at Mandu, raised the siege and sent orders to all his scattered forces and officers, who had been engaged in plundering the country-side and collecting forced revenues during this period of the seige, to assemble round him, and marched away with the whole army towards Sarangpur.[2] Sarangpur even then was a very important sub-division of Malwa and Hoshang was as much anxious to protect it as Ahmad was keen on occupying it. Thus when Hoshang got intimation of Ahmad's proposed destination, he got out of the fort and by forced marches and by a different route, forestalled Ahmad Shah in Sarangpur.[3] From Sarangpur, Sultan Hoshang sent messages of peace[4] to Sultan Ahmad, just with the intention of detaining him, so that he (Hoshang) might get enough time to repair the ditch and boundary hedges of Sarangpur. This overture of Hoshang did not prove successful as Ahmad Shah did not stop his march, though he delayed the delivery of the reply and kept the messenger waiting.

When Sultan Ahmad reached the borders of Sarangpur and pitched his tents, Sultan Hoshang made a surprise night attack on his camp on the night of 12th *Muharram* 826/Dec. 26, 1422[5] A.D. The attack was so successful that the Gujarati forces, being unprepared, could not stand the attack and were badly defeated and many of them were killed. Nizam-ud-Din[6]

[1] *Ferishta*, II, pp. 366, 468.

[2] Sarangpur was founded by Shaikh Sarang, who was once among the famous amirs of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Vide *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, p. 150.

[3] *T.A.* III, p. 279, *Ferishta*, II p. 366.

[4] The purport of the message as given by Nizam-ud-din is "As the right of the Mussalmans are mixed up in this, and you know yourself that shedding of the blood of Mussalmans without any reason is fraught with great calamity and in this case immense herds of them would perish, it is fitting that you should turn the bridle of your determination towards your own capital. The necessary tribute shall be sent soon after."
Vide:— *T.A.* III, (Tr.) p. 478, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 53, *Ferishta*, II p. 468.

[5] *Ferishta*, II. 366; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 54.

[6] Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, says that Sultan Ahmad Shah being composed owing to the promise of peace, did not take proper precaution for the protection of the troops. But, this suggestion of Nizam-ud-din does not seem to be correct, because Sultan Ahmed had continued his march in spite of the

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says that in this night attack many people perished; among them Rai Samat, the *Rai* of the country of Dundah (Kari) was slain with five hundred Rajputs in the vicinity of the Sultan's pavilion. But Sultan Ahmad managed to escape from the Camp and retired to some distance with only one attendant When he felt himself secure, he sent the attendant to find out the activities of the Malwi soldiers. The messenger returned and reported that Malwi troops were engaged in plundering the camp of the Gujaratis. Sultan Ahmad then collected his scattered forces and succeeded in mustering 1000 horses With this small force, he patiently waited for the morning on the skirts of the camp By the morning, the Malwi soldiers were exhausted because of night's work and had for the most part retired and some were still engaged in plundering. It was now for them to receive the surprise attack, when they least expected it. They seem to have become complacent after their victory and had thrown off all guard which made Ahmad's task all the more easy Of course, Sultan Hoshang offered a tough resistance and in the engagement both the Sultans received wounds.[1] Sultan Hoshang, however, could not collect his scattered forces and took shelter in the fort of Sarangpur. Sultan Ahmad recovered all the elephants that he had lost during the night and also captured seven others which Hoshang Shah had brought from Jajnagar[2] and then besieged Sarangpur.

The siege of Sarangpur lasted for a few months, but Sultan Ahmad could not bring about an effective operation to force them to surrender. On 24th *Rabi* 'II of 826 A.H./6th April 1423 A D, Sultan Ahmad ultimately decided to raise the siege and turn towards Gujarat[3] *Tarikh-i-Alfi* says that an epidemic

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message of peace sent by Sultan Hoshang. Hence the statement of Mulla Ahmed is more correct that it was a surprise night attack. *Tarikh-i-Alfi, Op. Cit Firishta.*

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 55, *T A.*, III, p 298.

[2] *T A* III, p 298, mentions only seven elephants of Jajnagar; *Firishta* says 20 besides 7 of Jajnagar; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 55, Sikandar is silent about he elephants.

[3] Nizam-ud-Din does not mention the siege, but simply says that on 24th *Rabi'* II of 826, Ahmad Shah turned towards Gujarat with victory and triumph *T A* III, p 112;
Firishta, II, p. 469 has 4th *Rabi'* II,
Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p 55 also gives 24th *Rabi* 'II

raged in his camp which forced him to commence his retreat to Gujarat. When Sultan Hoshang came to know of the retreat of Sultan Ahmad, he came out of the fort and closely pursued the Gujarat Sultan and, by attacking the flanks, started harassing him When Sultan Ahmad found it almost impossible to continue his march, he halted and gave battle to Sultan Hoshang In this severe battle, Sultan Hoshang was again defeated and losing a large number of his men,[1] he hastily retired to Sarangpur and Sultan Ahmad returned to Gujarat This was the last battle between Sultan Ahmad and Sultan Hoshang and as Mulla Ahmad says, in consideration of what Ahmad Shah's troops had suffered during this campaign, he abstained from launching any attack for some years [2]

Sultan Hoshang Shah remained in Sarangpur till he received authentic information that Sultan Ahmad had crossed over the boundary of Malwa and had entered Gujarat.[3] He then returned to Mandu and devoted some time in repairing the damages caused to his army

Thus the relations of Malwa and Gujarat during the reign of Hoshang Shah could not be finally settled Both had tried their level best to crush their opponent but had failed. The two kingdoms buried their hatchets for the time being only to be picked up later, after the death of Hoshang Shah

HOSHANG'S ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST AND THE NORTH

(*a*) *Kherla* Sultan Hoshang's repeated defeats at the hands of Sultan Ahmad Shah had convinced him of his relative weakness. To improve his position after Sultan Ahmad Shah had retired to Gujarat in 822 A H /A.D 1419, his first measure was to raise Malik Mahmud, son of Malik Mughith, to the status of a *Khan* and also to secure his services, he made it incumbent upon Mahmud Khan to accompany him whenever the Sultan went on any expedition [4] His second measure was to secure more elephants as he was convinced that the scarcity of elephants in Malwa army was the chief cause of his repeated defeats For this purpose he looked to Kherla.

But Hoshang's relations with the ruler of Kherla were not governed merely by his need of elephants, they had political bearings too. Kherla once had been a powerful kingdom

[1] *Firishta*, II, p. 469. [2] *Ibid*, II, p. 368 [3] *T A* III, p 298
[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 35b; *T.A* III, p 295; *Firishta*, II, p 466.

and had extended her sway over Nimar driving away the Chauhans of the place to Piplauda or Sajni [1] But as the power of Kherla declined, these territories in Nimar and other places were lost In the first quarter of the fifteen century, Nar Singh Rai of Kherla proved himself an ambitious and shrewd ruler Early in 802 A H /1399-1400 A.D. Nar Singh Rai, taking advantage of the troubles in the Bahmani kingdom, had advanced and occupied the territories up to Mahur [2] But very soon he had to face the Bahmani Sultan Firuz Shah, who after settling the affairs in the south, turned towards the north and reoccupied Mahur [3] From Mahur, Firuz Shah pressed on the territory of Kherla and soon besieged the fort of Kherla where Nar Singh Rai had taken shelter. After a siege of two months Nar Singh Rai capitulated and paid five maunds of gold, fifty maunds of silver and forty elephants and also agreed to pay regular tribute. Firuz Shah restored him to Kherla and recognised him as one of the amirs of the Bahmani Kingdom [4] Thus the territory of Kherla ever since had remained theoretically a part of Bahmani kingdom To Sultan Hoshang who was extending his territories, the existence of a chief owing allegiance to a kingdom, which claimed to have once exercised suzerainty over Malwa, was extremely distasteful. The subjugation of Kherla was therefore to him a matter of political necessity

In 823 A H.[5]/1420 A.D , when Sultan Hoshang got a little respite from the attack of Ahmad Gujarati, he marched towards Kherla with the intention of subduing the country and also to enrich himself with elephants and treasures from the Kherla country. Rai Nar Singh of Kherla came out of the fort and gave battle with a force of fifty thousands. Sultan Hoshang came out victorious and Nar Singh Rai[6] accepted

[1] Hira Lal, *Madhya Pradesh ka Itihasa*, p. 72.

[2] *Firishta*, I, p 309, Sherwani, *The Brahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 153

[3] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 44. [4] *Firishta*, I, p. 622.

[5] *Firishta*, II, p 466, *Briggs*, IV, p. 178

[6] *Firishta*, II, p 466, Firishta has slightly confused this invasion of Hoshang with his later invasion and says that Rai Nar Singh was killed in the attack of 823 A.H / 1420 A D, *Briggs*, IV, p 178 also says the same thing But in his history of the Deccan, *Firishta* mentions the appeal of Rai Nar Singh of Kherla to Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani for succour against

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the suzerainty of Hoshang Shah and gave him eighty-four elephants and much gold as indemnity This was the first victory of Hoshang Shah and it not only strengthened his army by the acquisition of elephants, but also enriched his treasury which had become depleted because of constant wars with Gujarat. But at this stage, Hoshang Shah did not make any arrangements to take the fort of Kherla under his control, instead, he allowed Rai Nar Singh to continue in possession of the fort.

Kherla enjoyed comparative peace for about two years. While returning from Jajnagar, when Hoshang Shah was in the neighbourhood of Kherla, he received the news of Sultan Ahmad's siege of Mandu He at once decided to have a second shelter, to fall back in case of emergency and, with this intention, induced the Rai of Kherla to join him with his troops. He then put the Rai in close confinement and garrisoned the fort of Kherla with his own men [1] However, Sultan Hoshang, after the departure of Ahmad Shah Gujarati, restored Kherla to the Rai who became his ally and rendered assistance in the conquest of Gagraun

Kherla later became a bone of contention between Malwa and the Bahmani kingdom. The conduct of Rai Nar Singh of Kherla during this contest between Hoshang Shah and Ahmad Shah Bahmani was full of duplicity Wedged in between two powerful kingdoms, with equally ambitious rulers, Nar Singh Rai thought it best to keep friendly relations with both of them, and to call in the aid of one against the other when necessary. Such a policy, however, could not prove successful for long When Hoshang Shah was defeated in 832 A H /1428-29 A D., Nar Singh Rai transferred his allegiance to Ahmad Shah Bahmani,[2] a position which could

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Hoshang which led to war between Malwa and the Bahmani kingdom. *Vide Firishta*, I, p 622

Another contemporary source *Achaldas Khichi Ri Vachanika* says that Rai Singh along with his two sons helped Hoshang in the conquest of Gagraun.

T A III, p 299, Nizam-ud-Din mentions that Rai Nar Singh appealed to Hoshang Shah in 832 A H /1428-29 A.D. for help against the invasion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani

1 *Firishta*, II, p. 467

2 *Firishta*, I, p 624.

(*Continued on next page*)

not be tolerated by Hoshang Shah for long. Hoshang Shah got his opportunity in 837 A H./1433-34 A D. when the Bahmani ruler was busy against Gujarat He invaded Kherla and killed Nar Singh Rai in the battle [1] The Rai's son accepted the suzerainty of Hoshang Shah and he was made the feudatory chief of Kherla

(*b*) *Hoshang's venture to Jajnagar* Sultan Hoshang had found to his chagrin that even with the elephants and wealth secured from Kherla in 823 A H /A D , 1420 he was not strong enough to defeat Ahmad Shah Gujarati To further strengthen his position and to increase his resources, he planned a venture to Jajnagar which he undertook towards the end of 824 A.H /A D 1421 or beginning of 825[2] A.H /A.D 1421 Hoshang Shah had received information that the ruler of Jajnagar was rich and was fond of horses of good breed and that he also possessed a large number of huge elephants. Being desirous of possessing these elephants, he assumed the garb of a merchant and took with him a body of soldiers all dressed as merchants and after collecting merchandise and horses set out for Jajnagar keeping his motives secret all the time After he had crossed the borders of Malwa, no information of his whereabouts reached the capital [3] In this manner, he arrived at Jajanager and informed the king Bhanudeva IV[4] that he was a merchant of the west and had brought merchandise for the king, but the quantity was so huge that he needed a bigger area than the regular market place for proper display

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According to Firishta the tribute that was paid by Nar Singh Rai to Ahmad Shah Bahmani included besides other things, one maund of diamonds, rubie and pearls of Aden.

[1] *Firishta*, I, p 632; Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 209.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 466 has A H 825, *Briggs*, IV, p 178; *T.A.* III, p 109 Nizam-ud-Din says that Ahmad Shah after subduing Champaner at the end of the year 824 marched towards Sonkhera on 19th *Safar* 825, on 22nd *Safar* 825 he laid the foundation of another Jama Masjid when he received the news that Sultan was away from Mandu for some time.

[3] *T A* III, p 295, *Firishta*, II, p. 466.

[4] Bhanudeva IV was the last ruler of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty and ruled from 1414-1434 A D After him the Gajapati Dynasty was founded by Kapilendra in 1434/35 A D. vide, Subramaniam, *Gajapatis of Orissa* (unpublished Ph D Thesis of Andhra University, 1947); *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 139

of his commodities The king, not suspecting the identity of the merchant, gave his permission to display the commodities in the open outside the town and also informed Hoshang Shah that he would come in time to inspect the commodities personally Thus on the fixed day the king along with his courtiers came to inspect the commodities While the king was moving about, suddenly storm and rain came which caused confusion and in the movements many of the commodities were damaged Sultan Hoshang, finding that the commodities had been damaged, ordered his followers to attack In this attack, Bhanudeva IV was taken prisoner Sultan Hoshang then disclosed his identity and demanded a ransom for his release The ransom of 75 elephants was paid but as a precautionary measure Hoshang did not release the king till he had crossed the boundary of Jajnagar and then taking some more elephants released him and returned towards Mandu [1] It was on his way to Mandu when he was near about Kherla that he heard about the siege of Mandu. This in nutshell is the story as given by Firishta and Nizamuddin Firishta in his history of Gujarat[2] gives a description from which it follows that Hoshang Shah had left Mandu when Sultan Ahmad was already besieging the fort, and that Sultan Ahmad could not know about his exit and entry He could know of it only after his entry when by rejoicings and flag hoisting the arrival was announced. Firishta further says that Ahmad Shah, ashamed and vexed, raised the siege. But it looks extremely incredulous that Hoshang would leave the capital when it was being besieged by an enemy. Again, the period of the siege of Mandu by Ahmad Shah is too short to enable Hoshang to undertake this long journey to Jajnagar and be back here before its end The account of *Tarikh-i-Alfi* is more logical According to Mulla Ahmad, Hoshang had left when Ahamd Shah was busy in Gujarat and not when he was besieging Mandu Ahmad Shah invaded Malwa and besieged Mandu on receiving information about Hoshang's absence [3] Hoshang Shah had deliberately kept secret the place of his destination, because this hazardous expedition was not without dangers, and he was also not sure

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 467, *T A* III p 296, *Haft Gulshan*, fol 120a.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p. 365.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Alfi* as quoted by *Firishta*, II, p 366

who is said to be an eye-witness to the events [1] According to Shivadas, Sultan Hoshang collected a large force consisting of eighty four elephants, thirty thousand horses and innumerable foot soldiers [2] This force included the forces of Nar Singh Rai of Kherla and Nar Singh's two sons, Chandji and Khemji, and also Lakhan Rao of Matangpuri and the amirs of Nimar Mandhata, Asir, Durgapur and Silarpur, Mandu, Dhar and Ujjain Besides these, the chiefs of Bundi, Dewaia Hindu Rai, Maldeo Chauhan and Samar Singh also joined Hoshang Shah [3] With such a mighty force, Hoshang Shah proceeded and besieged the fort of Gagraun The siege started on 8th *Shukla Ashwin* and lasted upto 8th *Krishna Kartik* of V.S 1480[4] (Mon Sept 13th to Mon Sept 27th 1423 A.D) Achaldas at the last moment thought of securing help and sent his son Palhan Singh to Rana Mokul,[5] but timely help could not come. Hoshang Shah, on the other hand, pressed hard the siege and cut off water resources of the fort. Though the fort had been well-provisioned Achaldas had neglected its fortifications as well as its water resources[6] and for this neglect he had to pay with his life When the Rajputs found that it was not possible to hold the fort any longer, they decided to perform *Jauhar* The terrible *Jauhar* was performed Achaldas's principal queens, along with thousands of other Rajput women burnt themselves and the Rajputs fell fighting to the last man Achaldas was also killed in the last fight [7] The fort then passed into the hands of Hoshang Shah. It was certainly a great victory and it established Hoshang's suzerainty over the locality and enhanced his reputation

The success at Gagraun emboldened Hoshang Shah and he advanced further north in the same year i.e. 826 A.H./A.D. 1423,

1 *Achaldas Khichi ri Vachanika*, Introduction, p. 3.

2 *Ibid* , p 20 and Introduction, p 6.

3 *Achaldas Khichi ri Vachanika*, p 7

4 *Ibid* , p 24 and Introduction, p 9

5 *Ibid* , p 34; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 29.

6 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 134b.

7 *Achaldas Khichi ri Vachanika*, p 44 The Vachanika is written mainly to describe this siege of Gagraun and Achaldas's last battle. Sarda places the incident in 1433 A D. and mentions Dhiraj Singh as the name of Achaldas's son The error of date has been pointed out by Dr. Sharma in the Introduction to *Achaldas Khichi ri Vanchanika*.

with the intention of conquering Gwalior By successive marches, he took possession of the neighbouring country [1] When Hoshang had devastated the country round Gwalior for a month and some days,[2] Sultan Mubarak Shah who had been at that time investing Bayana, received the news of Hoshang's advance into Gwalior and as Mubarak Shah claimed rights over Gwalior, he marched out to relieve the *Rai* of Gwalior

Regarding this affair of Gwalior, Firishta seems to have borrowed this information from *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* [3] Yahya was particularly partial towards Mubarak Shah, and thus mentions that his officers, at the first onslaught, defeated Hoshang and took many captives, and as they were Muslims he set them free, and that Hoshang sued for peace which was readily accepted by Sultan Mubarak Saiyid But Nizam-ud-Din gives a more balanced account According to him, Mubarak Shah on receiving the news of Hoshang's advance into Gwalior, marched with an army by way of Bayana to aid the *Rai* of Gwalior When this news reached Sultan Hoshang, he raised the siege and advanced to meet the army along the banks of the Chambal river After some days, peace was concluded and it was agreed that Sultan Hoshang should give up his plans for the conquest of Gwalior. Both the parties then sent presents to each other and returned to their respective capitals [4] Hoshang Shah returned to his capital by the end of the year 826 A.H /A D 1423 or beginning of 827 A H /A D. 1423.

HOSHANG SHAH'S RELATIONS WITH KALPI AND JAUNPUR

The small kingdom of Kalpi had grown out of *Shiq Firuzpur*

[1] *T A*, III, p 298, *Firishta*, II, p 469, *Badayuni*, I, pp 384-5 Badayuni says "Alp Khan the governor of Dhar came with the object of chastising the Rai of Gwalior and with the intention of subduing that region"

[2] *T A*, III, p 298.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 202 Basu in his translation of *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p. 209 fn 4 writes "Tabaqat-i-Akbari has Alf Khan and Alaf Khan Both are errors for Ulugh Khan" Basu is also wrong, because Alaf Khan is for Alp Khan which was the title of Hoshang Shah before his accession who continued to be addressed by his earlier title by many historians.

[4] *T.A*, III, p 299; *Badayuni*, I, p 385, *Zafar-ul-Walih*, p 915 Haji-ud-Dabir also says that they exchanged gifts and then returned to their respective capitals

which had been placed under *Malikzada* Firuz by Firuz Shah Tughlaq It was from *Shiq* Firuzupur that *Malikzada* Firuz had led an expedition against the Rai of Gagraun but had failed to reduce the fort [1] The *Malikzada* family was thrown out of *Shiq* Firuzpur by Rai Sumer of Etawa, and Mahmud *ibn Malikzada* Firuz had to move to Kalpi *Malikzada* Mahmud was confirmed in Kalpi including Firuzpur and Mahoba regions in return for his help to Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah Tughlaq against Rai Sumer and Adharan. This was the beginning of the importance of Kalpi *Malikzada* Mahmud had to face the Rajput opposition from all sides, and in the course of this struggle, timely aid from Dilawai Khan Ghuri of Malwa,[2] had saved him from the fierce attack of Rai Sumer who had come to the aid of the governor of Erachh It is from this time that friendly relations between the *Malikzada* rulers of Kalpi and Ghuri rulers of Malwa were established *Malikzada* Mahmud assumed the insignia of royalty after the return of Timur, and the last Tughlaq ruler Mahmud Shah accepted him as Sultan [3] But by the time Kalpi could consolidate itself, the more powerful kingdoms of Jaunpur and Malwa had already established themselves; besides, the kingdom was surrounded by petty Rajput chiefs of Etawa and Baghelkhand, and most of its resources were exhausted in constant warfare against these petty chiefs. The small kingdom of Kalpi situated between Dehli, Jaunpur and Malwa, at once became a buffer to all the three, and it could enjoy for long absolute independence, particularly because Ibrahim Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur wanted to use it as a buffer against Malwa and the Malwa rulers also wanted to keep it as a buffer against Jaunpur.

Malikzada Mahmud was succeeded by Ikhtiyar-ud-Din Qadir Shah,[4] who had to face the opposition of Biramdeo Baghela of Gahora, who had been once reduced by his father. Towards the end of A.H 815/ A.D. 1413, Ibrahim Shah Sharqi invaded Kalpi and while he besieged Kalpi, his ally Biramdeo Baghela besieged Erachh which was under the command of

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 134b, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol. 412b, 413a.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 440a.

[3] *Ibid*, fol. 437a, His title is given as Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Shah.

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 446b.

Bihamad Khan [1] After the capitulation of Erachh, Ibrahim Shah pressed hard the seige of the fort of Kalpi and Qadir Shah, finding no possibility of help, from Delhi,[2] accepted the suzerainty of Ibrahim Shah [3] But after the return of Ibrahim Shah, Qadir Shah started reasserting himself over the districts of Kalpi Hoshang Shah who in 816 A H /A D 1413-14 was busy in Malwa, could not take any effective measures against Ibrahim Shah But at the same time he did not want Kapli to fall into the hands of the Sharqi ruler Thus while Qadir Shah was seeking allies, Hoshang was interested in winning him to his side The result of this mutual interest was that Hoshang Shah gave his sister in marriage to Qadir Shah and thereby formed an alliance with him [4] Qadir Shah retained the alliance and allegiance to Hoshang Shah who was more interested to keep Kalpi as a friendly buffer than to annex it to his kingdom

Nizam-ud-Din in the Malwa section says that Hoshang Shah marched out for the conquest of Kalpi in 835 A H /A.D. 1431-32, but in the Jaunpui[5] section he says that in 837A H /1433-34 A D , Ibrahim Sharqi invaded Kalpi when Hoshang Shah also invaded According to Yahya,[6] in *Rabi'*l, 837 A H /Oct - Nov 1433 A D , after Sultan Mubarak Shah Saiyid had laid the foundation of the city Mubarakabad (*Khaiababad-i-duniya*) and some time had elapsed, that the news of the invasion of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi and Hoshang Ghuri on Kalpi was received. Muhammad Bihamad Khani[7] who was directly connected with Kalpi affairs, also gives the year of invasion as after 835 A H /A D 1431-32 Considering all the available evidence, we can positively say that the invasion of Ibrahim Shah and

[1] *Ibid* , fol 450a, 450b, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 180 Yahiya says that the information of Ibrahim Shah having defeated Qadir Khan arrived in *Muharram* 816 A H

[2] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 180

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 451b

[4] *Islamic Culture* 1953, p 153, A H Nizami suggests that the marriage of Qadir Shah with the sister of Hoshang Shah probably was contracted during this period

[5] *T A* , III, pp 299 and 278

[6] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, p 232-33, *Firishta*, I, p 308, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, I, p 100 says Ibrahim Sharqi invaded Kalpi in 837 A H /A D 1433-34

[7] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 454b, 456a According to Bihamad Khani, Qadir Shah died in 835 A H. /A.D 1431-32, vide fol 454b.

Hoshang Shah took place in 837 A H /A D 1433-34 when Qadir Shah of Kalpi was already dead for about a year In Kalpi, after the death of Qadir Shah, the nobles had raised his second son Jalal Khan,[1] who was the son of Hoshang's sister, to the throne But Jalal Khan's elder brother Nasir Khan[2] could not tolerate it and had gone to Jaunpur This gave an opportunity to Ibrahim Shah, who welcomed him in his court and conferred on him the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* In the meantime, Jalal Khan, having failed to satisfy the nobles, had been driven out to Chanderi Hoshang invaded Kalpi to restore Jalal Khan, while Ibrahim Shah also invaded in support of Nasir bin Qadir Shah Thus we find that the invasion of Kalpi by Ibrahim Shah and Hoshang Shah was not to subjugate Qadir Shah but to restore to the *masnad* of Kalpi their own respective candidates

Sultan Hoshang marched straight to Muhammadabad Kalpi where the amirs assembled and accepted Jalal Khan once again as their 'Amir' Ibrahim Shah Sharqi in the meantime marched upto Shahupur where he placed Nasir Khan. Hoshang Shah on receiving the information of Ibrahim Shah's movements[3] thought it prudent to oppose him before the latter reached near Kalpi and, therefore, moved in the direction of Ibrahim Shah and pitched his tents at Khajuwa Ibrahim Shah also moved to Bhaisrur where he pitched his tents After the rainy season, both the armies moved and encamped at Mardanpur where some skirmishes between the two opposing forces took place. But before the issue could be decided, news arrived in the camp of Ibrahim Shah that Mubarak Shah Sayyid[4] had already started on an expedition against Jaunpur. Ibrahim Shah finding his own kingdom threatened, broke up his camp and marched towards his own capital The withdrawal of Ibrahim Shah left Hoshang Shah alone in the field Hoshang Shah returned towards Kalpi where, during his absence, the *amirs* had once again driven out Jalal Khan and had occupied the fort. After a short sieze, he succeeded in reducing the fort and reinstated Jalal Khan in Kalpi as a protege of Malwa. Nasir Khan, how-

[1] *Ibid*, fol 456a

[2] *Ibid*, fol. 456a, *Haft Gulshan*, fol. 121a.

[3] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 457a *T.A*, III, p. 209.

[4] *T A*, III, p 299, *Firishta*, I 308 and II, p. 594.

ever was left undisturbed in the *qasba* of Shahupur[1] After having settled the affairs of Kalpi, Hoshang Shah returned to Shadiabad Mandu After a brief rest Sultan Hoshang again marched out to chastise the turbulent chiefs of the east who had taken shelter in the island of the Bhoj Tal He cut the dam of the lake and crushed them[2]

HOSHANG SHAH'S RELATIONS WITH BAHMANI EMPIRE

If Sultan Hoshang Shah had to face Sultan Ahmed Gujarati on the western side of his kingdom, he had to face the danger of Bahmani encroachment on the south-east Sultan Ahmad Shah Bahmani[3] was extremely ambitious and wanted to take possession of Khandesh, Malwa, and Gujarat which he claimed Timur had granted to his brother Firoz,[4] and for this purpose he wanted to strengthern himself in Berar and Gondwana. With this aim in view, he had in 829A H /A D. 1426 invaded Mahur, and after three successive attempts, had finally subdued Mahur in 830 A H /A D 1426-27. Though Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad says that the *Rai* of Mahur came forward with humility and repentance and joined the band of the Sultan's loyal adherent,[5] Firishta and Tabataba give us a different picture and explain the ambitious policy of Ahmad Shah According to them, after the *zamindai* of Mahur had submitted, the Sultan, breaking his engagement with him, had him along with five or six thousand Hindus put to death and imprisoned their sons and daughters and forced them to become Musalmans.[6] Firishta also says that at this time the Sultan took possession of fort of Kalan or Kullum and also a diamond mine, which had upto that time been in possession of the ruler of Gondwana That the Rai of Mahur was removed is certain even from the statement of Nizam-ud-Din, when he says that the country of Mahur with its dependency was conferred on *Shahzada* Mahmud Khan[7] Sultan Ahmed had not only annexed Mahur, but during his three successive campaigns, he had repaired the old fort of Gawil and had stayed a whole year at Elichpur supervising the work Thus the policy of aggrandise-

1 *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 457a-b
2 See Appendix C
3 Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 221, fn 61
4 *Firishta*, I, p 622
5 *T A*, III, Tr p 47
6 *Firishta*, I, p 621, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, pp 58-60, *Bahmani Dynasty*, p 52-53
7 T.A, III, p. 22.

ment followed by Sultan Ahmad Bahmani was very clear and gave sufficient cause to Hoshang Shah to take alarm Hoshang Shah immediatley took steps to judge the situation by testing the loyalty of Rai Nar Singh of Kherla [1] From the disjointed account of Firishta,[2] we find that the movement of Ahmad Shah Bahmani at Mahur had alarmed Hoshang Shah and he had sent an expedition into Kherla, which had accepted the overlordship of Ahmad Shah Bahmani to save the country from his ravages in 829A H /A D 1425-26 The first expedition of Hoshang failed to achieve any result, hence in 832 A.H /A D 1428-29 Sultan Hoshang Shah personally marched out for subduing Kherla The news of Sultan Hoshang's personal march must have alarmed Rai Nar Singh and he asked Ahmad Bahmani for help Ahmad Shah Bahmani had also recognised that Kherla was a point of a vantage between the Deccan and Malwa He, therefore, sent orders to Abdul Qadir, governor of Berar, to collect the levies of the province and march to Nar Singh's help Sultan Ahmad Bahmani himself started in 832 A H /A D 1429 with 6,000 cavalary to Elichpur from where he moved further north towards Kherla Rai Nar Singh of Kherla found himself hard pressed from two sides and preferring Hoshang Shah whose territory was nearer to Kherla, he tried to gain his favour by coming over to his side Rai Nar Singh also promised to give Sultan Hoshang one lakh of tankas[3] for every day's march towards Kherla While Sultan Ahmad spent some time in hunting, Sultan Hoshang came to Kherla by forced marches with a 30,000 strong army. Sultan Ahmnd also marched to Kherla, but perceiving the difficulty because of his smaller force, withdrew into Bahmani territory.[4] Sultan Ahmad's move was calculated to bring him

[1] This has been mentioned by Firishta as Hoshang's attempt to seduce Rai Nar Singh away from his allegiance to Sultan Ahmad which the latter declined

[2] *Firishta*, I, p. 622

[3] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 62; *T A.*, II, p. 24 and *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p 390

[4] *Firishta*, I, pp 622-623 Firishta says that this retirement was due to representation of holy men. The *Sadr*, Mulla Abdul Ghani and Najm-ud-Din *Mufti* and other '*Ulema* told him that no Bahmani Sultan had upto that time, waged war with a Musalman ruler and it

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some advantages as he would be in his own territories while Hoshang would be in foreign land with his rear open to the soldiers of Kherla whose loyalty was quite doubtful Ahmad Shah sent a message to Hoshang that he would be willing to retreat if the other side also went back home as it was useless to shed each others blood Without waiting for a reply, Ahmad Shah broke his Camp and retreated This was a great ruse of Ahmad Bahmani, and Hoshang fell for it Considering this as an outcome of weakness because Hoshang had a force of 30,000 while the Bahmani force did not exceed 15,000, Hoshang pursued Ahmad Shah and pitched his tent exactly on the spot which had been vacated by the Bahmani forces Hoshang Shah's boldness proved to be his folly, because on coming upon the Deccan force, he suddenly found it quite ready in battle array, instead of what he had expected a general retreat Thus fighting began, Hoshang was not prepared and he attacked with only 17,000 soldiers[1] Sultan Ahmad had kept his reserve

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would bring discredit to him if he in order to aid a *Kafir* went to war with Sultan Hoshang Sultan Ahmad heard this with sorrow and although he had arrived within twenty *karoh* of Sultan Hoshang's army, he turned towards his own kingdom

The explanation of Firishta is only an indirect method of saying that Sultan Ahmad Bahmani did not consider it safe to stay there and face Hoshang Shah's forces. It has already been pointed out that Rai Nar Singh had gone over to the side of Hoshang and therefore the question of aiding a *Kafir* against a *Muslim* did not arise

Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p 62 Tabataba says.

بالجمله چون الجان با سپاه گران بران ولایت کهرله رسید سلطان گیسی سمان مصلحت چنان دید که دو سه منزل برگشته داخل مملکت خود گردد اگر حنانچه انجان نیز از محاربه با مسلمانان منبعه گشته معاودت نماید هر آئنه دماء و اموال مسلمین در امان ماند و اگر بوسوسه دیو پندار و غرور مغرور گشته بولایت دکن در آید برگشته او را گوشمالی بسزا داده

[1] *Firishta*, I, p 623

in the rear,[1] and after a whole day's fierce fighting he attacked the Malwa forces with his reserve elephants and soldiers.[2] Sultan Hoshang was completely routed, and he precipitately fled towards Malwa. In the confusion that followed, 2,000 of his soldiers were slain and his elephants and harem (including two of his daughters) fell into the hands of Sultan Ahmad Bahmani.[3] While Hoshang was retreating, the Rai of Kherla taking advantage of this defeat attacked the retreating army and caused great damage to it.

Ahmad Shah Bahmani now behaved magnanimously and sent back the harem of Sultan Hoshang and the princesses, with costly presents and without any ransom, over the borders with a strong force to guard them.[4]

Thus in his first attempt Sultan Hoshang completely failed, but he could not forget this defeat nor the fact that Rai of Kherla had betrayed him. Besides, he could not allow Kherla to remain permanently on the side of the Bahmani kingdom. He, therefore, waited for his opportunity which he got in 837 A.H./A.D. 1433-34 towards the close of his reign. From 833 A.H./A.D. 1429-30 onwards, Ahmad Bahmani was engaged with Ahmad Gujarati over the borders of Sultanpur and Nandarbar. Prior to this Sultan Ahmad Bahmani had entered into a matrimonial alliance with Nasir Khan Faruqi the ruler of Khandesh. Nasir Khan had given his daughter Agha Zainab in marriage to crown prince 'Ala-ud-Din, and the marriage had been performed in Bidar.[5] But during this struggle Ahmad

[1] Thus Hoshang's information of the strength of Ahmad's forces proved wrong, because Ahmad had a reserve of 10,000 while the other forces had been engaged whole day.

[2] *Firishta*, I, p. 624, *Bahmani Dynasty*, p. 56. "At last the Sultan with those 2500 lancers which he had with him fell upon the enemy like a thunder cloud. Alp Khan, in spite of all his endeavours, was unable to shake them, and finally turning his back on the battle took to flight and leaving behind all his baggage, court tent walls, his *harem*, retinue and whatever is necessary, more or less, for kings, fled for his life." *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p. 390.

[3] Firishta says, two hundred elephants which seems to be a rather fantastic exaggeration. All authorities agree about the harem of Hoshang falling into hands of Ahmad Bahmani. *T.A.*, III, p. 24, 299, *Firishta*, II, p. 470, I, p. 624, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 64.

[4] *T.A.*, III, p. 24, 299, *Firishta*, II, p. 470 and I, p. 624, *Bahmani Dynasty*, p. 56.

[5] *Firishta*, I, p. 630, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 60. According to Tabataba the

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Bahmani was not faring well and his forces had been defeated twice Taking advantage of this occupation of Ahmad against Ahmad, Hoshang Shah suddenly attacked Kherla in 837 A H / A D 1433-34 and slew the Rai in the battle and occupied the country by reducing the fort and its dependent territories [1]

Ahmad Bahmani proceeded against Hoshang[2] and a clash of the two armies was almost in sight when Nasir Khan of Khandesh intervened He induced both the Sultans to stop hostilities and after some negotiations Kherla and its dependencies were allowed to remain with Hoshang Shah and Berar was fixed as Bahmani territory,[3] thus a boundary was drawn up between the two Hoshang thus finally succeeded in securing his frontier on the Bahmani side. The Bahmani Sultan accepted such a boundary because his troubles on the Gujarat front did not allow him a free hand to deal with Malwa Nasir Khan was anxious to maintain peace between these two kingdoms as his territory lay between them

DEATH OF SULTAN HOSHANG SHAH

Shihab Hakim has narrated an event in connection with the illness of Sultan Hoshang Shah According to him, one day while Sultan Hoshang was out on hunting, a ruby fell from his crown which was returned to him by a person who found it Though the Sultan rewarded the man for his honesty, he also informed his nobles of his approaching end He considered it as a bad omen, because a similar incident had happened in the life of Firuz Tughlaq who passed away after a few

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marriage took place sometime in 830 A H or 831 A H But to me it appears that marriage must have taken place after Hoshang's defeat, who was already a relative of Nasir Khan Nasir Khan had realised that Hoshang's alliance alone was not enough, hence his alliance with Bahmani Sultan *Firishta* narrates this marriage in the events of 832 and describes it after defeat of Hoshang Shah.

1 *District Gazetteer of Amraoti*, p, 48 has the following observations —

"In 1433 Hoshang Shah of Malwa, taking advantage of the enfeebled condition of the Deccan attached and annexed Kherla, slaying Nar Singh Deo Ahmad Shah marched into Berar and was on the point of attacking Hoshang when Nasir Khan of Khandesh intervened and proposed terms of peace which were accepted by the sides"

2 *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 68, *Bahmani Dynasty*, p 60, *Firishta*, I, p 632

3 *Firishta*, I, p 632, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 68

days of the incident[1] Though the nobles tried to hearten the Sultan and remove from his mind the impression of such an incident, Hoshang Shah actually fell ill and the illness grew worse day by day So far as the contemporary historians are concerned, they have not given any date of the incident, but from their narrative it is clear that it was his last illness, and during this illness he did not undertake any military operation We have already noted that in 837 A H /A D 1433-34 Hoshang Shah had undertaken an expedition towards Kherla and had finally succeeded in resolving the boundary differences with Ahmad Shah Bahmani, we may, therefore, safely conclude that the incident of hunting as mentioned by Shihab Hakim refers to a period after 837 A H and may be either towards the end of 837 A H or beginning of 838 A H /1434 A D.

Regarding the nature of the disease which attacked Hoshang Shah, it is very difficult to say anything with absolute certainty According to Nizamuddin it was something like diabetes[2] The description given by Shihab Hakim about the disease indicates it to be something more than diabetes At one place he says that when Sultan Hoshang was enraged during his illness because of the excitement something that obstructed the urinary passage, burst it and blood came out along with severe pain[3] According to this information, it may have been stone in the gall bladder The effect of this severe attack was so great that the conditions of Hoshang Shah began to deteriorate faster and he started towards Shadiabad Mandu.[4] While the Sultan was still on his way towards Shadiabad, he was given fresh cause for anger, mentioned above, which caused so much excitement that he almost became unconscious and fell into a state of coma[5] Though the party continued its march towards Shadiabad, it was on the night of 8th *Zilhijja* 838 A.H / 5th July, 1435 A D[6] while they were still at a distance of a

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 44a, *T A* , III, p 301; *Firishta*, II, p. 472. Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta both seem to have copied the incident as narrated by Shihab Hakim

[2] *T.A* , III, p 302 and Tr p. 483; *Firishta*, II, p 472

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 50b.

[4] *Ibid* , fol 45b, *T A* , III, p. 302, *Firishta*, II, p. 472.

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 52a

[6] *Ibid.*, fol 52 b

(*Continued on next page*)

night's march from the capital that Hoshang Shah breathed

(Continued from pre-page)

در شب هستم ذوالحجه سنه ثمان و ثلاثین و ثمانمایه

نفس ملکی او را بحضائر قدس و ریاض انس دعوت کرد -

The date given by Shihab Hakim is fully corroborated by Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta

Firishta, II, p 476, Firishta has given the year in a chronogram

مدت سلطنت سلطان هوسنگ سی سال بود تاریخ وفاتس

از لفظ "آه شاه هوسنگ نماند" مفهوم و مستفاد سگردد -

T A, III, p 307 Nizam-ud-din has also given the year in a chronogram which is the same as given by Firishta

In the chronogram the words "آه شاه هوشنگ نماند" yields 838.

Briggs, IV p 189, gives 9th *Zilhijja* as the date of his death which is wrong, similarly the year of death given by Briggs on p 190 in the distich quoted is also wrong, which he has not taken from Firishta.

سهی والا قدر سلطان هوسنگ سوی دارالبقا حون کرد آهنگ

برسیدم ز هاتف سال تاریخ ندا آمد "بمانده شاه هوسنگ

G Yazdani, *Mandu, The City of Joy,* p 13, Yazdani following the distich given by Briggs calculates 835 A H as the year which to me appears to be a printing mistake because the words yields 837 and not 835

Jr B B. R A. S, XIX, p 164, J M. Campbell has correctly followed Firishta and writes, "His nobles carried the body to the madrasah in Shadiabad and buried him in the college on the ninth day of *Zilhijja* of 838 A H.

Jr. B B R A S, XXI, p 359 Ernest Barnes wrote after Campbell, but again gave a wrong date "September 1432"

Wright, II, p 242 Wright mentions that "In A H 835 / A D 1431 Hoshang Shah made what proved to be his last expedition against Kalpi in Bundelkhand, dying on his way back to Mandu in A H 836 / A.D 1432." Wright wrongly assigns a period twenty seven years rule to Hoshang

C H I., III, p. 352, July 6, 1435

Delhi Sultanate (Vidya Bhawan) p 176, July 6, 1435

We have noted already that Hoshang was alive in 837 A H hence all dates prior to this can be safely rejected. Besides the statement that Hoshang Shah ruled for thirty years also yields 838 A H as the year of his death, his accession having taken place in 809 A H. Hence the date given by Shihab Hakim i e 8th *Zilhijja* 838 A H is correct which is also corraborated by, Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta

his last Immediately after his death Mahmud Khalji took control of the situation and ordering a halt put the body into a shroud after the last bath etc [1] The body was then carried to Shadiabad and there deposited in a grave in the *Madrasa* on 9th *Zilhijja* 838 A H [2]

AN ESTIMATE OF HOSHANG SHAH

The credit of consolidating the kingdom of Malwa must be given to Hoshang Shah, who had inherited from his father Dilawar Khan, a kingdom in a nascent state Malwa had just secured independence and had yet to strengthen herself when Dilawar Khan died Hoshang Shah on his accession had to bear the brunt of Gujarati might After initial failure against Gujarat, when he finally succeeded in regaining Malwa, he ever remained vigilant against Gujarat and by following a policy of rendering assistance to the Rajput chiefs and other malcontents of Gujarat, he tried to keep the Gujarati Sultan involved in his home affairs so as not to have a free hand against Malwa No doubt, he could never win a decisive victory over the armies of Gujarat[3] but at the same time he did not allow the Gujarati Sultan to gain any advantage by his campaigns in Malwa except that he only wasted much of his resources, which he could have utilised elsewhere more fruitfully However, for Malwa the net result of these invasions and their repulsion was that on the Gujarat front an approximate boundary was fixed and the kingdom of Malwa extended to Dohad which formed the last Gujarat territory

In the south of Malwa, Hoshang Shah maintained friendly relations with Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh and maintained that kingdom as a powerful buffer by rendering valu-

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 53a

2 *Ibid*, fol 53b *T A*, III, p 306, *Firishta*, II, p. 476; *Briggs*, IV, p. 190. Briggs opines that "it appears certain he (Hoshang) was first entombed at Hoshangabad, a town called after him, lying on the Nurbudda river. The place of internment is still shown by some pious Mahomedans who reside on the spot and the lines commemorative of his death; were legible when the translator visited the tomb in October 1817" Camp-bell, however, had correctly pointed out that "the monument to Hoshang in Hoshangabad from the first was an empty tomb" Vide *Jr B B R.A.S*, XIX, p. 164 fn. 23.

3 Speaking about the qualities of Hoshang Shah, Nizam-ud-Din says, Though Hoshang Shah was unrivalled in bravery and valour, but he was not victorious in war In most of his battles inspite of his great efforts and exertions he had to retreat Vide *T.A.*, III, p. 298

able assistance whenever it was needed The kingdom of Khandesh remained on friendly terms up to August A.D , 1508 when the accession of Adil Khan III made it a dependency of Gujarat

In the south-eastern side of Malwa, Hoshang Shah succeeded in acquiring Kherla As a wise diplomat, he took full advantage of the difficulties of the Bahmani kingdom when he occupied Kherla, and as a statesman, he accepted the boundary settlement with the Bahmani kingdom because he realised fully the futility of a prolonged war with that kingdom

By establishing his authority over Chanderi and his overlordship over Kalpi, he successfully checked any possible aggression on the part of the growing power of Jaunpur His occupation of the fort of Gagraun was a very wise step as it gave him a base in the Khichiwara territory from where he could not only successfully check the local Rajput chiefs but also prevent any aggression from the kingdom of Dehli Thus we find that Hoshang Shah successfully established a natural frontier for his kindom and encircled it with allies, particularly at points where the kingdom was most vulnerable

During his short reign, Dilawar Khan had fully realised the importance of gaining local support for maintaining the independence of Malwa, and for this purpose he observed a policy of toleration towards Hindus in general and Rajputs in particular. Hoshang Shah also was conscious of the need of toleration In Malwa a large section of the population was Hindu and unless this section felt safe and secure the house that Hoshang was building could never acquire an enduring character Besides, a dissatisfied Hindu population would be a constant source of weakness, if not actual trouble, particularly when the neighbouring kingdom of Mewar was fast growing in power We do not find any of the contemporary historians mentioning the demolition of temple or forceful conversion, on the contrary, the epigraphical evidence found at Lalitpur[1]

[1] *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports* (New Series) Vol II, p 120, *JR B.B R.A S.* XIX, p 163 fn 19 Campbell writes "At Deogarh in Lalitpur in Jhansi an inscription of Samvat 1481 i e of A D 1424 records the dedication of two Jain images by a Jain priest named Holi during the reign of Shah Alambhak of Mandapapura that is of Shah Alap Khan of Mandu, i.e Hoshang Shah Ghuri" Jains seem to have enjoyed special favours from the Malwa Sultans For details see Appendix D "The Jains in Malwa"

dated VS 1481, SAKA 1346/ A D 1424 clearly indicates that Hoshang Shah had placed no restriction on the construction of temples by the Jains

Hoshang Shah, from the beginning of his reign, had recognised the importance of Rajputs and to gain their loyalty he had extended his patronage to them. He had encouraged a number of them to settle in the wild tracts of Nimar [1] These Rajputs, he expected, would serve as a strong buttress against any possible aggression from the south The infant state of Malwa was surrounded by strong powers practically on all sides. On the north-western side, the kingdom of Mewar which was fast becoming a noteworthy power, was also a danger which could not be altogether overlooked by Hoshang Shah. But being conscious of his own limitations in military resources, he never contemplated a military aggression on that side Besides, with Mandsor in his control he thought more of a defensive policy against Chittor than an offensive one It was about A D 1421[2] that Chunda, the eldest son of Rana Lakhsha Singh (Lakha), along with his younger brother Ajja left Chittor and came to the court of Sultan Hoshang Shah. Chunda had renounced his claim to the throne in favour of his youngest brother Mokul born of the Rathor princess, Hansa Bai Rana Lakha died sometime after A.D. 1419 and Mokul being young, Chunda looked after the affairs of the state. But soon, court intrigues created suspicion in the mind of his stepmother Hansa Bai upon which Chunda preferred to leave Chittor [3]

To Sultan Hoshang there could have been no better opportunity than this and he received Chunda and Ajja with highest distinctions and gave a number of parganas[4] in jagir to them

[1] Hira Lal, *Madhya Pradesh Ka Itihas*, p 73

[2] Rana Lakhsha Singh died sometime after A D. 1419 and before 1421 A D vide, Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 22; Muni Jinvijaya's *Prachin Jain Lekh Sangrah*. pt II. p 221 *Op Cit*. Sarda, Bisheswar Nath-Reu, *Marwar Ka Itihas*, Vol I, p 71, *Vir Vinod*, I, pp. 310-11. The date of *Vir Vinod* for the accession of Mokul as A D. 1397 is wrong.

[3] *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 311 Shayamal Das says he left for the court of Dilawar Khan It is wrong, Hoshang was then on the throne. *Tod*, p. 224.

[4] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 311; *Tod*, I, p. 224 "Chunda, knowing the purity of his own motives, made liberal allowance for maternal solicitude; but upbraiding the queen with the injustice of her suspicions, and advising a vigi-

(*Continued on next page*)

for their maintenance Chunda in Mewar was held in highest esteem because of his sacrifice and when such a prince lived in Malwa on the bounty of the Malwa Sultan it was like the creation of a Rajput buffer against Chittor Hoshang Shah deserves all the praise for such a far-sighted policy by which he succeeded in the creation of a Rajput barrier against Chittor

While Hoshang Shah devoted most of his energies to strengthen the frontiers of his kingdom, he did not neglect the internal prosperity of the country He distributed jagirs to his trusted men and divided the country into divisions with headquarters at Sarangpur, Ujjain, Chanderi and Bhilsa He founded the city of Hoshangabad on the banks of the Narbada as an out-post to guard the south-eastern frontiers of his kingdom To increase the glory of his kingdom, he extended his patronage to scholars and the existence of the *Madrasa* in Mandu indicates that he had taken positive steps for the promotion of learning The royal patronage attracted scholars and *Mashaikh* from different parts to come and settle in Malwa. Hoshang Shah had in the beginning of his reign, sought advice from *Haji* Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani who had finally settled in Jaunpur kingdom[1] The saint, who had been a ruler himself before he renounced the world, did comply with the request of Hoshang Shah and sent him in reply a letter containing valuable advice on matters of administration

Shaikh Makhdum Qazi Burhan-ud-din came to Mandu within the first decade of the accession of Hoshang Shah The Sultan not only received him with honour but also became his disciple[2] (*Murid*) *Qazi* Burhan-ud-din was a great scholar and according to the compiler of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* he was of the noblest birth, a great *Wali* and commanded great respect It is not unlikely that Hoshang Shah wished his kingdom to be blessed with the presence of a Sufi Saint of eminence,

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lant care to the rights of Sesodias, he retired to the court of Mandoo, then rising into notice, where he was received with the highest distinctions, and the district of Hallar was assigned to him by the king", Crooke, *Tod*, Vol I, IM 325 fn 1 has (Hallai in W Kathiawar) The district of Hallar as mentioned by Tod is yet to be identified It certainly could not have been in W Kathiawar, which was outside Malwa The ruler of Malwa could not have given a jagir in a land which did not belong to him

1 *Maktubat-i-Asharfi* (Ms of Ashrafi Library) pp 75a to 82a

2 *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p 23

particularly when in the kingdoms of Gujarat, Jaunpur, Deccan and Khandesh, a feeling prevailed in the minds of the people that they were living in a state protected by the blessings of Sufi Saints The presence of *Hazrat* Burhan-ud-din enhanced the prestige of Malwa, and Sufi Saints began to come to Malwa, where the Sultan spared no pains to receive them well Saiyid Najm-ud-din *Ghauth-ud-Dahr* who belonged to *Silsila* Qalandaria came to Malwa and took up his residence by the side of a tank in Nalcha [1] *Shaikh* Yusuf Budha[2] Erachchi known as *Maqtul-ul-Ishq* also came to Malwa *Hazrat Shaikh-ul-Islam*, *Khalifa* of *Shah* Raju Qattal also visited Malwa while going on *Haj*

[1] *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p. **24.**

[2] *Ibid*, p. 24, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 28a, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p 190.

Chapter III

END OF THE GHURI DYNASTY OF MALWA

Children of Sultan Hoshang, their character and mutual rivalry — Ghazni Khan nominated as his successor — Mahmud Khan supports Ghazni Khan —Motives of Mahmud Khan in supporting Ghazni Khan — Accession of Ghazni Khan as Muhammad Ghuri — His reign — Amirs displeased — Absence of Malik Mughith from Capital — Sultan Muhammad conspires for the murder of Mahmud Khan — Death of Sultan Muhammad — Amirs attempt to raise Mas'ud Khan to the throne — Their failure — Success of Mahmud Khan Khalji

SULTAN HOSHANG had a large progeny which proved to be the cause of the ruin of the Ghuri dynasty in Malwa He had two wives, one of whom was the daughter of Malik Raja Faruqi of Asir[1] and his marriage to her had been arranged by Dilwar Khan By his two wives he had eight sons[2] and three daughters [3] Of these sons, 'Uthman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan who were born of the Faruqi mother had close association and formed one group, their eldest brother Da'ud Khan having died earlier, whereas Ghazni Khan who was the eldest of all the sons, along with Ahmad Khan, 'Umar Khan and Abu Ishhaq[4] formed another group The existence of two rival parties amongst the princes had become the most disturbing element in the closing years of the reign of Sultan Hoshang The nobles of the court taking advantage of the factionalism took sides with the princes and joined the rival camps *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan and *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan were leaders of the

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 37a, Adil Khan, *Muqta* of Thalner
Firishta, II, p. 543

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 37a, *Firishta*, II, p 471 says seven sons only and does not mention Da'ud Khan
T.A III, p 300 Nizam-ud-din's description of the children of Hoshang Shah is not complete

3 *Firishta*, II, p 471
Shihab Hakim does not mention the daughters

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 37a, has Ayub Khan.
Firishta II, p. 471.

two rival groups, and more than often fought with each other secretly These quarrels gradually increased as the age of the Sultan advanced It became quite apparent that a struggle for the throne was inevitable Sultan Hoshang was favourably disposed towards Ghazni Khan, he being the eldest, and always gave him preference. This partiality of the Sultan towards Ghazni Khan led the people to think of Ghazni Khan as their future Sultan and successor of Hoshang Shah

Sultan Hoshang's preference for Ghazni Khan was no doubt an outcome of his anxiety to establish the law of primogeniture in the matter of succession. As a Sultan he was conscious of the immense task of the crown, its responsibilities for maintaining law and order and also the protection of territories from foreign aggression He was also very much alive to the Gujarat menace and danger upto the last. Under these conditions he must have realised that a settled law of succession in the dynasty would avoid much of confusion and unnecessary bloodshed

Sultan Hoshang had not formed such an idea without reasons He had observed[1] the feud that existed between the two *shahzadas* and had in all likelihood calculated the pros and cons of such a dispute both for the country and for his own house As for the personality of the two rival *shahzadas*, we hear of Ghazni Khan for the first time, in connection with the activities of Nasir Khan of Asir against his younger brother Iftikhar of Thalner[2] Ghazni Khan had gone in aid of Nasir Khan, but on the arrival of Sultan Ahmad Gujarati he had hastily withdrawn to Malwa The second time we find him fighting against Ahmad Gujarati in the advanced guard of Hoshang at Ujjain.[3] This time again he was defeated and wounded because of which Sultan Hoshang Shah had to retreat hastily to Mandu and sue for peace We find at this stage that Ghazni Khan neither displayed tact nor courage nor even military generalship, qualities which the Sultan clearly discovered in Malik Mahmud, son of Malik Mughith the Wazir.

As for 'Uthman Khan, curiously enough, the historians are silent till the occurrence of dispute in the camp of Hoshang when he was returning from his expedition to Kalpi. The quarrel started between the wives of Ghazni Khan and 'Uthman

[1] T A III, p. 300, *Firishta*, II, p 471.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 464 [3] *Ibid.*

which led to a general quarrel between the two camps [1] Nizam-ud-din and Firishta following Shihab Hakim mention 'Uthman Khan sent some of his mounted followers to the camp of Ghazni Khan where they showered abuses on him, an act which was unbecoming for a prince and was full of cowardice Even when the *Hajibs* and *Khawajas* of Ghazni Khan asked them to stop such low acts, they refused and were therefore driven away However 'Uthman Khan came to their rescue and beat the *Khwaja* of Ghazni Khan The entire occurrence as pointed out by the two historians indicates meanness on the part of the *Shahzada*, who realising the impropriety of his action, left the camp of Sultan and started collecting *amirs* on his side with the intention of raising the standard of revolt [2]

Such a conduct on the part of 'Uthman Khan infuriated the Sultan, who took the counsel of Malik Mughith He pleaded for pardon on the ground that such disputes and quarrels had been overlooked by the Sultan earlier But Hoshang Shah seems to have taken exception to the conduct this time particularly because 'Uthman Khan attempted to organise a revolt However the Sultan behaved in such a way as if he had pardoned him or had overlooked his conduct When 'Uthman Khan found that the Sultan was not taking any action he returned to the royal camp It is not unlikely that Sultan Hoshang was fully aware of the popularity of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan with a larger section of the nobles and therefore was not willing to create any division in the camp by a show of anger The pleading of Malik Mughith or his advice[3] might have also gone home to the Sultan, who realised the necessity of not taking drastic action at that time The consideration that the army was on

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 42a, *T A* III, p 300, *Firishta*, II, p 471

[2] *Ibid*, *Firishta* says—

عثمان خان در فباحت خود مطلع شد از غضب مدرترسد
و از اردو بیرون رفت و در آنجا مرتکب عمل دیگر شده
امرای بے عاقبت اندیش را بوعدهای دل خوش کن فریفته
در مقام غدر گردید ۔

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 471, *T A* III, p 300

the march and any disaffection might be injurious to its order and discipline can also be a possible reason Thus we find Sultan Hoshang quietly returning to Ujjain

After reaching Ujjain Sultan Hoshang held a general '*majlis*' and summoned 'Uthman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan and reprimanded them and ordered the custodians to take them under custody [1] But as Sultan Hoshang had to proceed to Bhopal for punishing the people and the Rai of Jatba and also being aware of a strong faction in support of the *shahzadas*, he ordered Malik Mughith to take them to Mandu where they were to be detained and closely guarded [2] Such a measure, the Sultan obviously felt, was necessary for if the *Shahzadas* escaped it would only mean so much trouble for the Sultan and the State

The detention of 'Uthman Khan along with his two brothers, on the one hand, cleared the way for Ghazni Khan and his brother-in-law Mahmud Khan son of Malik Mughith, on the other, it led to the activity of the nobles who supported the cause of the imprisoned *shahzadas* and disliked Ghazni Khan for his incompetence and dependence on Mahmud Khan Thus from the time of the imprisonment of the *shahzadas* till the death of Hoshang Shah we find moves and counter-moves of the two parties in the court of Hoshang, which were further aggravated by the breakdown of the Sultan's health and his inability to look after the State affairs

To settle the affairs of the State and to avoid the struggles of a disputed succession, Sultan Hoshang nominated *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan as his successor when he found that his health had started declining and that his end was not far It is also not unlikely that finding his end near, he recollected the old forgotten dream which is narrated in the *Gulzar-i-Abrar*.[3] To reach the capital as soon as possible he started from Hoshangabad for Mandu[4] and on his way summoned a general audience

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 471, *T.A* III, p. 301.

[2] *Ibid*

[3] May be this story of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* is only to impress the importance of the blessings and curses of the Saints.

According to the story, Hoshang Shah dreamt his *Pir* Shaikh Burhanud-din saying "As you have divulged my secret, by opening my grave, Almighty has uprooted the foundation of your rule."

[4] *T A* III, p. 302

and in the presence of the *amirs*, personal attendants and commander of the army gave the seal-ring of the kingdom to Ghazni Khan[1] and proclaimed him to be his heir and successor Sultan Hoshang seems to have been conscious of the abilities as well as the ambitions of Mahmud Khan and in all probability he had guessed the latter's secret aspiration for the throne He, therefore, after the nomination of Ghazni Khan as heir, placed his hand into the hands of Malik Mahmud just by way of trust,[2] hoping thereby that Mahmud Khan would be bound by honour to keep his trust and also protect Ghazni Khan Mahmud Khan immediately offered his homage to the heir-apparent and promised before the Sultan that "As long as there would be remnant of life left in me I shall not hold myself excused from loyal and devoted service [3]

Sultan Hoshang then appealed to the *amirs* that they should not soil the field of the kingdom by their malice and hostility towards *shahzadas* [4] Sultan Hoshang was not satisfied merely with these arrangements, he gave further advice to Mahmud Khan[5] by reminding him of rights of support and nurture that the Sultan had extended to him and also tried to impress upon his mind the grave danger from Gujarat as well as his responsibilities towards Malwa.

The Sultan said, "Sultan Ahmad Gujarati is a monarch of great grandeur and is the lord of sword He has always had the determination to conquer Malwa and is waiting for an opportune moment If there is any neglect or dilatoriness in the organisation of the affairs of the state or in the supervision of the troops and subjects, or if there is any negligence in the carrying out of your duties towards *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan, his determination to conquer this kingdom will be strengthened and your union will be changed to dissention" [6]

Sultan Hoshang seems to have been satisfied with these

[1] *T.A* III, p 302, the expression "حلف صادق" has been translated by De "as his true born son", which is a literal translation of the expression Vide *T A*. III, (Tr) p. 483. This expression has been used to indicate that Ghazni Khan was obedient to his father hence his favourite

[2] *Firishta,* II, p. 472

[3] *T A* (Tr) III, p 484; *T.A*. III, p 302, *Firishta,* II, p. 472

[4] *T.A*. III, p 302, *Firishta,* II, p 472

[5] *Firishta,* II, p 472, *T A* III (Tr), p 484

[6] *Firishta*, II, p 472

arrangements, but Ghazni Khan still had apprehensions about the loyalty of Mahmud Khan It is in these transactions that we get a glimpse of the weak character of Ghazni Khan. In spite of the fact that Mahmud Khan had given his word in the presence of the Sultan to remain loyal to Ghazni Khan, he felt the need of sending Malik Mahmud Nami 'Umdat-ul-Mulk to wait on Mahmud Khan with the following message "If you the asylum of Wazarat should strengthen the knot of allegiance by oath, it would be the cause of my mind being greatly assured" Mahmud Khan accepted the request and confirmed his promise of allegiance by means of oaths [1] This incident makes it quite clear that while Ghazni Khan secretly suspected Mahmud Khan, he had no other support The *amirs*, on the other hand, realised that accession of Ghazni Khan would transfer the reins of administration to the hands of Mahmud Khan Therefore, those *amirs* who were against Mahmud Khan started making efforts for the release of 'Uthman Khan who was then interned in Mandu

Such *amirs* approached the Sultan through *Khwaja* Nasrullah *Dabir* and suggested that *Shahzada* 'Uthman should be released from prison and that a part of the country of Malwa be given to him as *jagir* [2] But Sultan Hoshang could very well see that the *jagir* of *Shahzada* 'Uthman would become a rallying ground for the *amirs* who would raise him as a rival Sultan at an opportune moment and thus disturb the peace of the kingdom. Sultan Hoshang was well aware of the good qualities of 'Uthman Khan, but did not consider him fit for the throne because of his rashness and haughty temper whereas he considered Ghazni Khan, though less competent but more docile and ever willing to co-operate with the *amirs*, as better suited for the throne Sultan Hoshang was painfully conscious of the shortcomings of his own progeny[3] and it must have been in great anguish that he had uttered, that Mahmud Khan possessed such qualities for which he wished he had been his successor [4]

[1] *T A.* III, p 302, *Firishta*, II, p. 473 [2] *Firishta*, II, p. 473

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 39a Shihab Hakim mentions that Hoshang Shah was so much disgusted with his sons that he once said he had no sons

"من لا ولدم"

(*Continued on next page*)

Sultan Hoshang kept his filial affections subordinated to the general good of the kingdom and told Nasrullah *Dabir* that the idea of releasing and granting *jagir* to 'Uthman Khan had occurred to him, but he had realised that such a course would endanger the affairs of the kingdom and would only result in disorder and disturbance in the kingdom.[1]

The *amirs* thus disappointed by the Sultan, approached Mahmud Khan in whose hands, they now clearly perceived, lay the guidance of their future course and they tried to win him over in favour of 'Uthman Khan Malik 'Uthman Jalal, one of the great *amirs*, had taken up the cause of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan and had a large number of *amirs* of the State on his side He sent Malik Mubarak Ghazi and two others to wait on Mahmud Khan Malik Mubarak Ghazi, as spokesman of the party of *Shahzada* 'Uthman conveyed to Mahmud Khan the best wishes of the prince and all the *amirs*, and also conveyed that *Shahzada* 'Uthman was endowed with qualities of liberality, courage and qualities of administering impartial justice, and of protecting and helping the *raiyats* in a greater measure than *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan [2] He also reminded that 'Uthman Khan was the son-in-law of *Malik-us-Sharq* Malik Mughith and therefore his children were like the children of Malik

(*Continued from pre-page*)

[4] *Ma'athu-z-Mahmudshahi*, fol 10b Sultan Hoshang said,

اینک فرزند حلف کہ جسم از مساهدهٔ مجاهدهٔ او سی آساید
و دل از فضائل سمائل او مسرور سگردد و سخواهم ولی
خود گردانم چرا کہ کار مملکت بغمر داب او قرار نه خواهد
گرفت و آئس جهانداری سر انجام نخواهد پذیرفت ـ

Firishta, II, p 471 Firishta expresses the same view

محمود خان لماف آن دار دکه ولی عهد من باشد ـ

[1] *Firishta*, II, p. 473

Briggs, Vol IV, p 186 Briggs says that it was at Mahmud Khan's instance, that Sultan Hoshang consented to release *Shahzada* 'Uthman from confinement and to give him an estate on which he might reside and have no plea, for disturbing the reign of Ghazni Khan Briggs obviously has confused the meaning of Firishta

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 473.

Mahmud.[1] He further stressed that paying favourable attention to the circumstances of 'Uthman Khan, Mahmud Khan would not withdraw his hand of support from his head, for if the work of sovereignty be transferred to 'Uthman Khan the kingdom would again acquire greatness and splendour.[2] Mahmud Khan's reply to these negotiations was a simple one, that he was only a servant and as such his only concern was service,[3] that he did not exercise any authority over the Sultan who had nominated *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan as his successor, and that during the whole period of his service he had never strayed beyond the scope of his service and thus in this matter too he was helpless

These negotiations clearly indicate that Mahmud Khan had already become very powerful and the *amirs* as well as *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan fully realised that they could not achieve success unless they succeeded in gaining his support to their cause. Their attempt seems to have been to assure him a continuation of the dominating position that he enjoyed, and which he expected to enjoy on the accession of Ghazni Khan That a large section of the *amirs* were in favour of 'Uthman indicates that of the two *shahzadas*, he was more capable But, to Mahmud, a competent *shahzada* was not desirable. In the weakness of the *shahzadas* he had found his own chances of ascending the throne. By his tact and singleness of purpose he was slowly moving up the ladder The *amirs* in their approach to Mahmud Khan had completely overlooked his personal ambitions. It was a secret desire of Mahmud Khan to ascend the throne of Malwa which had been promised to him by *Shaikh-ul-Islam Khalifa* of *Shah* Raju *Qatal*, a prominent saint, when Mahmud was still young but which he had not forgotten. Thus to Mahmud Khan the accession of *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan suited better, because with a weak and incapable ruler the usurpation would be easier, whereas 'Uthman Khan was more

[1] It is surprising that such a relationship should have been mentioned in view of the fact that one of the sisters of Mahmud Khan was also married to Ghazni Khan *i.e.* Ghazni Khan and 'Uthman Khan had the same relationship with Mahmud Khan *Firishta*, II, p 473, *T.A.* III, p. 304.

[2] *T A* III, p 304, (Tr) p. 486; *Firishta*, II, p. 473.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 474

بنده را با بندگی کار است خواجگی و خداوندی او داند

capable, vigilant and did not trust Mahmud Khan, and therefore 'Uthman's accession was sure to bring about his destruction Thus as a shrewd politician, Mahmud while maintained the show of loyalty he was actually digging the grave of the Ghuri dynasty.

To ensure the confidence of Ghazni Khan in him, Mahmud had kept Malik Mahmud '*Umdat-ul-Mulk* within hearing of whatever talks he had with Malik Mubarak Ghazi the spokesman of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan, so that he might report everything to Ghazni Khan [1]

The partisans of 'Uthman having failed in their negotiations with Mahmud Khan and also being conscious that Sultan Hoshang's days were numbered, tried to arrange for the release of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Zafar Khan Minjumla, the *wakil* of 'Uthman Jalal quietly escaped from Sultan Hoshang's camp with a view to reach Mandu and effect the release of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan by winning over the custodians [2] But the departure of Minjumla did not escape the notice of Mahmud Khan who immediately informed Ghazni Khan of it Here too we find tact on the part of Mahmud Khan, because instead of taking any step personally he got the necessary measures taken by *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan, and thus maintained his outward indifference to the affairs of the *shahzadas* Ghazni Khan however made a mess of everything. He asked Malik Barkhurdar, Malik Hasan and Shaikh Malik to seize Zafar Minjumla and gave orders to *Amir Akhur* to supply fifty horses from the royal stables *Amir Akhur* who was a supporter of 'Uthman Khan refused to supply the horses from the royal stables unless he received orders from the Sultan who was still alive [3] *Amir Akhur* further contrived to repeat the orders of Ghazni Khan within the hearing of the Sultan who at times gained consciousness The matter was presented in such a manner as to impress on the mind of the Sultan that Ghazni Khan had already started assuming regal powers while the Sultan was still alive This had the desired effect The Sultan immediately ordered that his bow and quiver should be brought and he also summoned the *amirs*.[4] This sudden outburst of the Sultan alarmed all except Mahmud Khan who

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 473.
[2] *Ibid*
[3] *Ibid*, II, p 474.
[4] *Ibid*

never lost his balance and maintained a perfectly cool temper. Ghazni Khan was so much alarmed that he immediately left the camp and retired towards Gagraun [1] The *amirs* thought on the other hand that this summons of the Sultan was false and had been circulated by Ghazni Khan only to imprison them and that the Sultan might have already expired Thus the *amirs* completely failed to take advantage of the situation, and instead of pressing home their advantage, created by the absence of *Shahzada* Ghazni Khan, they remained away from the Sultan [2] Mahmud Khan, on the contrary, went alone to the Sultan in response to his summons, and probably convinced him to uphold his previous arrangement Mahmud Khan also took measures[3] for the return of Ghazni Khan to the camp While Ghazni Khan was still away the condition of the Sultan worsened and Mahmud Khan from his camp took further measures of security He wrote to his father Malik Mughith[4] *Khan-i-Jahan* who was at Mandu reminding him of his responsibility and his loyalty to Sultan Hoshang The purport of the letter was that the Sultan had declared Ghazni Khan to be his heir and successor, that the illness of the Sultan had made him so weak that the *amirs* near him had given up all hope of his life, that it would therefore be proper on his part to make every endeavour to guard *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan It seems that Mahmud Khan took this special precaution because he was afraid of the movement of the *amirs* who had already sent people for the release of *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan and he might have also thought that his father might, out of weakness for *Shahzada* 'Uthman, relax the guards posted for his confinement Mahmud Khan simultaneously wrote another note to Ghazni

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 474.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 51a

[3] Mahmud Khan had to use a good deal of cajoling to convince Ghazni Khan, before he could restore his self-confidence. According to Nizam-ud-din, Ghazni Khan informed from Gagraun that when the Sultan asked for his bow and quiver he thought that because all the *amirs* of the state were against him, the Sultan might order his imprisonment after he reached Mandu Mahmud Khan in reply tried to convince him that he would explain everything to the Sultan at the right moment. But Ghazni Khan, instead of returning again wrote to Mahmud Khan about his fear of the Sultan's wrath. Thus we find quite a few days were taken up with this correspondence *T A* III, p 305; *Firishta*, II, pp 474 and 475.

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 475

Khan asking him to return immediately to the camp because there was little time left and that the sun was about to set He also assured him of his and his father's full support [1] All these transactions and letters he wrote in the presence of Malik Mahmud *'Umdat-ul-Mulk*[2] who was working as messenger between him and Ghazni Khan It was on *'Umdat-ul-Mulk's* report of the transactions and assurance that Ghazni Khan finally returned to the camp of the Sultan

Thus we find that the first round of the struggle for the crown was over and in this Mahmud Khan came out successful He had successfully out-manoeuvred the rival *amirs* But the first round also clearly portrays the weakness of Ghazni Khan's character He lacked not only in initiative and courage but was also a hopeless coward and his dependence even in small matters on Mahmud Khan clearly indicates that he certainly did not deserve the crown That he succeeded in getting the crown was because of the severe illness of the Sultan and the hard work of Mahmud Khan who, like a clever chess player, was making calculated moves for the final checkmate Mahmud Khan during this period displayed all the requisite qualities of a Sultan, the absence of which was equally displayed by the sons of Sultan Hoshang, and when Sultan Hoshang said, "I have no son" he had only given expression to the feelings of a frustrated father

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ACCESSION OF GHAZNI KHAN

The return of Ghazni Khan to the camp of the Sultan made the *amirs* realise that they were fighting a losing game But as there was still breath left in the Sultan, they decided to make the final attempt Thus Malik Ancha, the *Arz-i-Mamalik*, and household *Khwajas* of the Sultan decided to place the Sultan in a palanquin and to carry him in haste to Mandu while he was still alive and to bring *Shahzada* 'Uthman Khan out of prison and place him on the throne [3] They decided to keep all the proceedings secret from Mahmud Khan as well as such

1 *TA* III, p 305, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 51b

2 Malik Mahmud *'Umdat-ul-Mulk* was a courtier of Ghazni Khan, and served as a messenger in all the talks between Mahmud Khan and Ghazni Khan He seems to have been enjoying complete confidence of Ghazni Khan and that he enjoyed the same confidence with Mahmud Khan is not unlikely

3 *Firishta*, II, p 475

amirs as were on his side But Mahmud had been all the time watchful of the life of the Sultan, and when Malik Ancha and the *Khwajas* started with the palanquin he also followed them On his demand of explanation for such a course of action, the *Khwajas* replied that they were only complying with the orders of the Sultan [1] After the palanquin had gone some distance the Sultan died With the death of the Sultan, the initiative passed into the hands of Mahmud Khan, who immediately gave orders for setting up the Royal pavilion and commenced arrangements for placing the Sultan's corpse into the shroud and coffin [2] The *amirs* who were partisans of 'Uthman Khan, finding matters out of their hand, left the camp. Mahmud Khan then proclaimed that "as Sultan Hoshang has died a natural death, Ghazni Khan has succeeded him which had been decided by the late Sultan and that all those who agree to this should offer the homage and those who do not, may retire and look after themselves" He then rendered respect to Ghazni Khan by kissing his hand. This done, he wept bitterly over the coffin of the Sultan All the *amirs* and important persons offered their submission to Ghazni Khan by kissing his feet and thus confirmed the accession of Ghazni Khan [3]

REIGN OF GHAZNI KHAN

The formal coronation of Ghazni Khan took place on 11th *Zilhijja* 838 A H.[4]/8th July 1435 A D and because of the exertion of Malik Mughith and arrangements made by Mahmud Khan, all the *amirs* of the State, rendered respect to Ghazni Khan again, though against their wishes, and thus accepted the *fait accompli* Ghazni Khan assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah Ghuri in which name the *Khutba* was read and coins were struck. Sultan Muhammad distinguished each one of the *amirs* by conferring on them robes of honour and confirming them in their *iqtas* and granting a general amnesty to those who had been partisans of 'Uthman Khan. In short, he allowed the arrangements of Sultan Hoshang to continue. Thus because of excellence with which Malik Mughith and Mahmud Khan managed everything, people soon became

1 *Firishta*, II, p 475, *T.A.* III, p. 306.

2 *Ibid*, II, p. 475; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 53a

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 53b; *T.A.* III, p 306, *Firishta*, II, p. 475.

4 *Ibid*, fol 54b, *Firishta*, II, p. 476; *Haft Gulshan*, fol. 121b.

adherents of Sultan Muhammad To the title of *Khan-i-Jahan* of Malik Mughith, further title of *Masnad-i-'Ali* was added and the Wizarat was allowed to remain in his hands [1]

Thus Sultan Muhammad started well But very soon his inherent weak character and cowardice dominated him He had been afraid of his brothers all along and now as a Sultan he decided to get rid of them Sultan Muhammad got his brothers executed This unjust and unnecessary bloodshed was considered a bad omen for his reign by the people and when these executions were followed by the blinding of his nephew and son-in-law Nizam Khan and his three sons people got disgusted with him These acts of the Sultan created hatred in the hearts of the people[2] and gave rise to discontent and disorder. It is surprising that Mahmud Khan who had a complete mastery over the Sultan, did not prevent him from taking such actions. The possible reason for such an attitude of Mahmud Khan seems to be that in such actions of the Sultan he found his own betterment The execution of the *shahzadas* meant so many future rivals less, with his own hands absolutely clean The hatred of the people was bound to make Sultan Muhammad Ghuri unpopular and thus his removal would not so much displease the people.

ABSENCE OF MALIK MUGHITH FROM CAPITAL

These general disturbances and uprisings in the capital encouraged the Rajputs of Harauti to assert their independence. They also invaded some territories inside Malwa proper. On receiving the news of this, Sultan Muhammad Shah deputed *Khan-i-Jahan* Malik Mughith on 11th *Rabi'* I 839 A H [3]/4th

1 *Firishta*, II, p 476

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 54b, 55a,
Firishta, II, p 476, *T A* III, p. 308, *Haft Gulshan*, fol 121b
The names of the brothers executed by Sultan Muhammad Ghuri have not been mentioned Later in the reign of Mahmud Khalji we come across the names of Ahmad Khan and 'Umar Khan, sons of Sultan Hoshang as living and organising revolts, therefore at this occasion it must have been 'Uthman Khan, Fateh Khan, and Haibat Khan, the *shahzadas* who had opposed the accession of Ghazni Khan and were never on friendly terms with him, who were executed. and about whom the historians suddenly become silent

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 55a,
Firishta, II, p 476 has 15th *Rabi'* I. 839 A H./8th Oct. 1435 A D.

Oct 1435 A D to quell this rebellion and gave him a special robe of honour and added two more elephants to his personal equipage, before his departure

The departure of Malik Mughith *Khan-i-Jahan* from the capital was detrimental to the interests of the Sultan The Sultan obviously had failed to realise that Malik Mughith was the most balancing factor in the kingdom and that the late Sultan Hoshang Shah always preferred to entrust the capital to Malik Mughith in his absence. But Sultan Muhammad was neither gifted with courage nor with diplomacy or state-craft and certainly he was one of the most undeserving persons to sit upon a throne.

After the departure of Malik Mughith, he became complacent about the work of administration and drowned himself in drunken dissipation[1] Mahmud Khan in the meantime was building up his party and was organising a general coup The Sultan's complete negligence gave him further opportunity to speed up his work, which created suspicion in the minds of the supporters and well-wishers of Sultan Muhammad, who contrived to inform the Sultan to be careful about himself, through an inmate of the harem.[2]

It seems that personal danger aroused Sultan Muhammad from his sloth and drinking orgies[3] but being hopelessly incompetent, he could think of no means better than simply conspiring with the informants for the murder of Mahmud Khan[4] But Mahmud Khan had already posted his men everywhere and immediately got reports about this conspiracy against his life It is quite likely that he had deliberately allowed the leakage of his activity to reach the Sultan, being well acquainted with his nature, and was sure of Sultan Muhmmad's reactions and the possible course that the Sultan might take and thus absolve him from the oath of fidelity that he had taken, because on receiving this information, he was delighted and expressed "Praise be to God ! that such a breach of agreement

1 *Firishta*, II, p. 477; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 55b

2 *T A* III, p 308, *Firishta*, II, p. 477.

That the *amirs* had to take help of an inmate of harem indicates that Mahmud Khan had so much domination that the *amirs* did not dare to talk to the Sultan personally

3 *T A*. III, p 308.

4 *T A*. III, p. 308, *Firishta*, II, p 477

has not occurred from my side" [1] Mahmud Khan took all necessary precautions for his personal safety, and started collecting troops and retainers, and whenever he went to wait upon the Sultan, he became particular about caution and care, with the result that neither Sultan Muhammad nor his accomplices could get an opportunity to commit the crime The caution and care taken by Mahmud Khan indicated to the Sultan that Mahmud Khan had come to know of his design, and it became for him "the cause of increased anxiety and fear".[2]

Thus failing in his initial attempt to remove Mahmud Khan, the Sultan thought of another device to throw him off his guard. One day Sultan Muhammad seized Mahmud Khan's hand and took him into his harem and there in the presence of his wife, who was a real sister of Mahmud Khan, told him that it was his hope that no harm would be done to his life by Mahmud Khan and also gave him the assurance that the affairs of the kingdom would remain in his hands without any contention or hostility. Mahmud Khan was equally clever and he reminded the Sultan of their past engagement and oaths,[3] and also told him that some malicious persons had tried to poison the ears of the Sultan. Further, to convince the Sultan, he told him that he was there alone and if the Sultan wanted his life he could easily take it there and then [4]

Thus the second round in this game of out-witting each other ended with apparent understanding between the two. But neither the Sultan could shake off his suspicion and distrust nor Mahmud Khan his caution and ambition Mahmud Khan increased his efforts and finally succeeded in winning over the cup bearer and through him administered poison to the Sultan [5]

1 *TA* III, p 308, *TA* III, (Tr p 493), *Firishta*, II, p 477, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 56a

2 *Firishta*, II, p. 477

3 *TA*. III, p 309, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol. 57a, *Firishta*, II, p 477, *Haft Gulshan*, fol 122a.

4 Both Nizam-ud-din and Firishta corroborate each other in the narration of this event. Shihab Hakim says, that Mahmud Khan reminded the Sultan of the oath and told him to investigate the matter thoroughly and to punish the guilty (who-so-ever he may be)

5 *TA* III, p 309; *Firishta*, II, p. 477

Sultan Muhammad died in *Shawwal* 839 A H [1]/1436 A D (1st *Shawwal* was 18th April 1436 A D)

AMIRS' ATTEMPT TO RAISE SHAHZADA MAS'UD KHAN TO THE THRONE

When such *amirs* who were opposed to Mahmud Khan came to know of the death of the Sultan, they decided to keep the news secret The leaders of this group such as Nasr-ul-lah *Dabir*. Qutb Shaibani, Lutf-ul-lah Zakariya and Isma'il and others,[2] held a hasty council and decided to remove Mahmud Khan

Their first step was to bring out *Shahzada* Mas'ud, the eldest son of Muhammad Shah who was a minor, being in the thirteenth year of his age and to place him on the throne. In this selection, they were not so much actuated by their loyalty to the house of Hoshang, as by their desire to take the reins of administration in their own hands There were other sons of Hoshang Shah still living, and we come across the names of at least two of them, Ahmad Khan and 'Umar Khan, but they preferred a minor, because in that case the entire government would be under their control and they would be at liberty to rule according to their wishes.[3] They also secured permission from this

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 57a According to Shihab Hakim the period of his rule was nine months

Both Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta say that the period of his rule was one year and some months. Vide: *T A*. III, p. 312 and *Firishta*, II p 479. Shihab Hakim is correct, because the Sultan ascended the throne on 11th *Zilhijja* 838 A H /8th July 1435 A D and Mahmud Khalji ascended on 29th *Shawwal* 839 A H./14th May 1436 A D

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 57b; *T.A* III, p 310, has Khwajah Nasr-ul-lah Dirnibani (Tr. Parniyani) Malik Mashir-ul-Mulk and Latif Zakariya and some others ; *Firishta*, II, p. 478, has Khwajah Nasr-ul-lah Wazir, Mashir-ul-Mulk and Latif Zakariya and others

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol.57b

بهوای آنکه چون طفلے نادان آمر ناشد پرداخت قواعد
مملکت شهریاری و مراسم سلطنت و جهانداری در تحت
ضبط و قبضهٔ تصرف ما آید و بکام خویش ملک رانی کنیم
—— اما مصلحت آنست که بعض سران و سرداران که
درین باب با ما موافق نخواهند شد —— اول ایشان را
بلطائف حیل بر دست آریم

minor king, who hardly had any choice of his own, to arrest any person who was against the government.[1] After making all this arrangement they sent Malik Bayazid Shaikha to Mahumd Khan, with a message that Sultan Muhammad wanted him to come to the palace at once as he wished to send him as envoy to Gujarat.[2]

But Mahmud Khan had taken all precautions. He had posted his informers everywhere, and already knew of the Sultan's demise before Bayazid Shaikha could reach him. Mahmud Khan made a counter-move to entrap these *amirs* and for this purpose not only pretended ignorance of the Sultan's death, but also invited them to come to his place [3]

According to Nizam-ud-Din, Mahmud Khan replied to Bayazid Shaikha, that he had relinquished the duties of the *Wazarat* and had decided to spend the remaining years as recluse at the tomb of Sultan Hoshang But, because he had been brought up in the service of Sultan Hoshang, he would consider the matter if the *amirs* would come to his place to discuss the matter and after arriving at a conclusion, the matter could be reported to the Sultan.[4] According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud Khan replied to Bayazid Shaikha, that the time was very bad and there was trouble everywhere, which was causing more and more sufferings Though his visit had consoled him, but if others also would come, he would feel greatly consoled and would join them.[5] Mahmud thus succeeded in entrapping the *amirs*, who were no match for him in stratagem.[6] He had kept his men ready in concealment and the *amirs* were seized and were made over to the guards.[7] Thus the opposition broke down. Still some of the remaining *amirs* who had been left out, made a desperate effort and by bringing the royal umbrella from the tomb of Sultan Hoshang raised it over Prince Mas'ud.

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 58a.
2 *Ibid*, fol 58a, *T A* III, p. 310, *Firishta*, II, p 478
3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 58a.
4 *T.A.* III, p. 310; *Firshta*, II, p 478
5 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 58b.
6 *Ibid.*, fol. 58b, *Firishta*, II, 478.
7 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 59a.

According to Shihab Hakim, during this confusion a piece of paper fell down from one of the persons, which contained the names of all those persons who were associated with this attempt of removing Mahmud Khan.

When Mahmud Khan learnt that the *amirs* were going to raise Mas'ud Khan to the throne, he attacked the royal palace and during the remaining day the battle continued.[1] But in the night *Shahzada* 'Umar Khan escaped from the fort and *Shahzada* Mas'ud Khan entered into the sanctuary of *Shaikh* Chain Ladah.[2] Mahmud Khan remained on the spot till morning when he received the news of his complete success.[3] Thus came the end of the rule of Ghuri dynasty of Malwa

The end of Ghuri dynasty in Malwa was an outcome of its own folly. Sultan Hoshang by allowing the accession of Ghazni Khan against the wishes of the *amirs* actually sealed the fate of the dynasty. *Shahzada* 'Uthman had better qualities and might have looked after the affairs of the state in a better manner But he too did not show qualities, which could compare with those of Mahmud Khan We find 'Uthman Khan committing acts of foolishness, but never showing that calculation and coolness of temper so necessary to run the administration and government. Ghazni Khan, right from the beginning, was dependent on Mahmud Khan and proved himself to be hopelessly lacking in qualities of judgment and courage. Throughout his career he behaved like a coward. Even in his dealings with Mahmud Khan, his repeated requests for assurances and oath completely exposed him as a man lacking in self-confidence. But when he conspired against the man who of all persons had been all along his supporter he only invited his own doom The large section of the *amirs* had never completely reconciled themselves to the rule of Ghazni Khan and even those who were on his side committed the blunder of trying to set up a minor,

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 59a

According to Shihab Hakim, these *amirs* brought their forces, but Mahmud Khan was ready and a contested battle was fought

Firishta, II, p. 478.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 59b; *Firishta*, II, p 478.

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 60a

According to Shihab Hakim, the *Shaikh* mediated for the pardon of the *Shahzada*, and on his recommendation Mahmud Khan allowed Mas'ud Khan to leave Malwa with his followers and belongings.

According to this statement we find that *Shaikh* Chain Ladah was already in Malwa before the accession of Mahmud Khan.

It may incidentally be pointed out here that Satish Chandra Misra erroneously states "Two of Hoshang Shah's sons, Mas'ud Khan and 'Umar Khan, fled to Gujarat." Vide "*Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat*", p. 187.

who himself required protection, instead of being capable of taking their leadership. The remaining *shahzadas* of the house of Ghuri who had escaped death at the hands of Ghazni Khan (Sultan Muhammad) did not possess the qualities either to take up the field in person or to organise any resistance. They were at best used by the *amirs* as rival claimants more for their personal aggrandisement than for any real attachment to the house of the Ghuris Thus when Mahmud Khan arranged to get Sultan Muhammad poisoned, none wailed his death and the people soon accepted Mahmud as their beloved Sultan who led Malwa to the peak of glory.

Chapter II

ESTABLISHMENT OF KHALJI RULE IN MALWA

Origin of the Khaljis of Malwa—Relations of the Khaljis and Ghuris of Malwa—Early life of Mahmud Khalji—Mahmud Khalji bids for the throne—Accession of Mahmud Khalji I—Attempt on the life of Mahmud—Malik Mughith advises a policy of appeasement—Failure of the policy of appeasement—Invasion of Ahmad Shah Gujarati and final subjugation of the opposition—Final subjugation of Chanderi—Mahmud's relief to Shahi-i-Nau—Subjugation of petty border chiefs—Mahmud's attempt on the throne of Dehli—Recognition of Mahmud as lawful Ruler of Malwa by the contemporary Rulers

THE ORIGIN OF THE KHALJIS OF MALWA

THE origin of the Khaljis of Dehli has been traced quite at length by a modern scholar[1] and taking all the evidences into consideration, he has successfully established that Khaljis were Turks It remains now to examine the origin of the Khaljis of Malwa and their probable relationship with the Khaljis of Dehli. Haji-ud-dabir, Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad and Firishta, all the three have traced the ancestory of the Khaljis of Dehli from Tulak Khan, the third son of Qalij Khan Nizam-ud-Din says[2] that when the rulers of Ghur conquered India the Khaljis followed in their train in large numbers and took service under the Sultans of Hindustan The father of Sultan Jalal-ud-din and the father of Sultan Mahmud Khalji Mandwi, who were among the great and successful *maliks* and renowned *sultans*, were grandsons of Qalij Khan. Firishta[3] says that it is quite likely that Qalij Khan may have been of the tribe of Khaljis and Jalal-ud-din of Dehli and Mahmud of Malwa may have descended directly from him. Haji-ud-dabir[4] has given a slightly detailed genealogy, but has evidently left a lacuna in it According to him, Qalij had married a daughter of Chingiz Khan, but not being able to live with her, separated himself with 30,000 horsemen and took his residence in Kabul But subsequently

1 K. S Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, pp 11-15 2 *TA* I, p 117
3 *Firishta*, I, p 154 4 *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 197

he returned to Samarqand after the death of Chingiz Khan. There three sons were born to him The youngest of the three Tulak Khan embraced Islam and took up his residence in Qunduz Tulak had two sons, Nasir-ud-din and Firuz After the death of Tulak these two migrated to India during the reign of Sultan Balban. During the reign of Kaiqubad, Malik Firuz was appointed as governor of Lahore. When Firuz occupied the throne of Dehli he appointed his brother Nasir-ud-din as *muqti* of Amroha Nasir-ud-din was blessed with a son named 'Ali Sher who was the father of Malik Mughith who was the father of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa

Shihab Hakim,[1] who is the earliest of these writers and contemporary of the Khaljis of Malwa has given a more exhaustive genealogy and there is no reason to believe that it is a false one.[2] It fully covers the lacuna. He also mentions Qalij Khan as the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan and has given the same story of his coming to Kabul with 30 thousand horsemen and his subsequent return to Samarqand.[3] Shihab Hakim then says Qalij Khan had three sons and mentions their names as Anisan Khan, Kudar Khan and Tulak Khan respectively. Tulak Khan was the youngest and the ablest of all the brothers He came to Qunduz-Baghlan and embraced Islam. He had two sons, Amir Khurram Beg and Amir Muhammad Beg.[4] Amir Khurram Beg's son was Nasir-ud-din and Amir Muhammad Beg's son was Firuz. During the disturbances caused by the Tatars, the two cousins, Nasir-ud-din and Firuz, left Qunduz-Baghlan for Dehli and entered the service of Iltimish.[5] After the death of Kaiqubad, Firuz ascended the throne of Dehli under the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah. Malik Nasir-ud-din who had been given the *iqta* of Amroha, had a son named 'Ali Sher *Buzurg* (Senior). 'Ali Sher *Buzurg*'s son was Malik Nasir-ud-din *Khurd* (Junior) Nasir-ud-din *Khurd's* son

1 *Ma'athir-Mahmudshahi*, fols 12a, 12b.

2 Badayuni (*Ranking*, I, p 230) considers it false though without assigning any particular reason for his belief

3 The narration is so similar that I am inclined to believe that either Haji-ud-dabir copied it from Shihab Hakim, or such was the current belief and accepted by all.

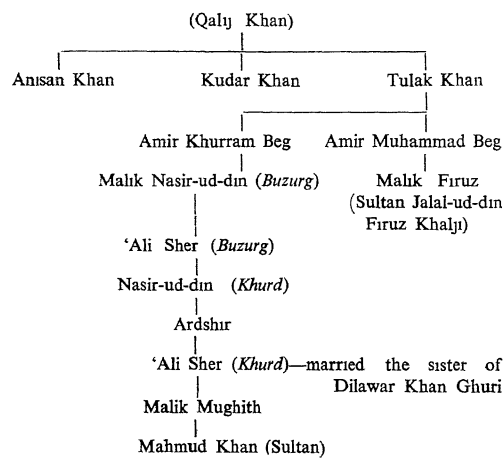
4 Haji-ud-dabir has not mentioned them and on the contrary says Nasir-ud-din and Firuz were the two sons

5 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 12b

was Malik Ardshir who was the father of 'Ali Sher *Khurd*. 'Ali Sher *Khurd*'s son was Malik Mughith *A'zam Humayun Khan-i-Jahan* who was the father of Sultan Mahmud Khalji *Sahib-i-Qiran*

Thus from the genealogy we find that the Imperial Khaljis and the Khaljis of Malwa were branches of the same Turkish stock but had separated so many generations earlier that the relationship had become almost meaningless The two Nasir-ud-dins and two 'Ali Shers are likely to create some confusion at a casual reading; nevertheless, they are very distinct, bearing the adjectives *Buzurg* (Senior) and *Khurd* (Junior)

The genealogical tree



THE RELATIONS OF THE KHALJIS AND GHURIS OF MALWA

The Khaljis of Malwa had a close relationship with the Ghuris of Malwa, and from the relationship that existed between the two it is evident that the Khaljis in Malwa had prospered along with the Ghuris. Shihab Hakim, the contemporary historian of Malwa, says that Malik Mughith was the son of the paternal

aunt[1] of Sultan Hoshang Ghuri, *i.e*, Dilawar Khan Ghuri's sister was the mother of Malik Mughith and therefore married to 'Ali Sher *Khurd*. Though we do not get much information about Mughith before the rise of Musa Khan, *i.e*. during the imprisonment of Sultan Hoshang Shah, but the statement of Malik Mughith that Sultan Hoshang was brought up in the loving arms of his mother[2] clearly indicates that he was closely associated with the family and that the favour of Dilawar had been retained. That the nobles had elected Musa Khan as their leader who was a Khalji, being the son of the paternal uncle[3] of Malik Mughith, indicates that the Khaljis were occupying high positions and the leadership of the nobility was with them The position and prestige of Malik Mughith was further enhanced when, because of his support, the nobles came over to the side of Hoshang Shah leading to his re-occupation of Mandu and his restoration to the throne of Malwa That Malik Mughith was the most important person is also indicated by the fact that his departure disheartened Musa Khan, and that Musa Khan negotiated with Malik Mughith for evacuating the fort and also requested him for granting some place for his residence. In return for this support, Sultan Hoshang made him *wazir* and *naib* and gave him the title of *Malik-us-Sharq*.[4]

Sultan Hoshang must have realised the importance of Malik Mughith and to retain his support he cemented the relationship with his family with more matrimonial relations. He married

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 33b.

بندگی اعظم همایوں که برادر عمیتی خدایگان بود

Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta have followed Shihab Hakim.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 33b.

3 *T.A* III, p. 292. Nizam-ud-Din says, Malik Mughith said—

اگرچه موسیٰخان پسر عم مامی شود

Shihab Hakim also says, Malik Mughith said—

اگرچه موسیٰخان ما را نیز برادرست

Firishta, II, p 463. Firishta however says—

موسیٰخان را که ابن عم سلطان هوشنگ می شد

Briggs, IV, p 167. In the genealogical tree Briggs has shown Musa Khan as the son of Dilawar Khan's sister, which is contrary to what Firishta says.

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 35a

two of his elder sons, 'Uthman Khan and Ghazni Khan to the daughters of Malik Mughith.[1]

EARLY LIFE OF MAHMUD KHALJI

In the house of such an important personality Mahmud was born on the night of Thursday the 28th *Shawwal* 806[2] A H /8th May 1404 A D. in an auspicious moment, when the combination of stars governing his destiny did indicate that greatness lay in store for him in his life[3] Thus he was born in the independent kingdom of Malwa during the reign of Dilawar Khan Ghuri Though we do not know much about the early life and training of Mahmud Khan, but from the subsequent history we can deduce that his father had taken all care for his education and training as a soldier Mahmud seems to have possessed an attractive personality from his childhood and by nature he was of cool temper and polite in his attitude towards his elders.[4]

At the time of Hoshang Shah's restoration, Mahmud was hardly five years old.[5] But as time passed, and while Hoshang Shah was busy in consolidation and expansion, Mahmud seems to have developed into a fine soldier and displayed marks of extreme intelligence, because in 822 A H /A D. 1419 when Mahmud was only sixteen years, Sultan Hoshang conferred on him the title of *Khan*.[6]

Whatever abilities Mahmud might have displayed, he certainly brought good luck to the Sultan, which we may also assign to the sound advice, daring courage and unflinching loyalty of Mahmud, qualities which did not go unnoticed by Sultan Hoshang, who could not help but wishing that the possessor of such qualities should have been his son

1 *TA* III, p 304, *Firishta*. II, p 473

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 15b

3 *Ibid*, fol. 15b Shihab Hakim has given the horoscope of Mahmud.

4 *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Chaman III. *Tazkira Shaikhul Islam-12*
According to the narrative, *Hazarat Shaikhul Islam Khalefa Shah* Raju Qatal, whose birth-place is Uchh and whose tomb (*Khwabgah*) is in Mandu, visited Shadiabad Mandu when Hoshang Shah was ruling and Malik Mughith was holding the office of Wazir Mahmud, son of Malik Mughith, who was then of tender age but devoted towards the *Darwesh* and friendly towards the *faqirs* personally attended upon *Hazarat Shaikhul Islam* and served him with food

5 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 32b.

6 *Ibid.*, fol 35b, *TA* III, p 295, *Firishta*, II, p 466

Mahmud Khan had remained loyal to Sultan Hoshang throughout his rule but towards the end of his reign, he started conceiving secret ambitions of acquiring the throne of Malwa.[1] Having fully realised the incompetence of the sons of Hoshang Shah, he took the side of Ghazni Khan, who, though inferior in qualities to 'Uthman Khan, had been nominated as successor by Sultan Hoshang. Thus while he upheld the wishes of the Sultan and supported the cause of the legal position, he succeeded in placing on the throne a weakling who would depend on him and would be a puppet while the administration would remain in his hands.

During the brief reign of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri he had maintained law and order and had kept the kingdom intact through hard work and constant vigilance, and patiently waiting for the proper opportunity. He had bound himself by oath to the Sultan and as an honest person was hesitant to break the oath. It is said that when he was informed that the Sultan was conspiring for his life, he thanked God that such a breach of trust and oath did not start from his side. His approach in this case was that the Sultan in attempting to take his life had broken the oath and, therefore, had liberated him from his own oath, thereby leaving him free to take his own precautionary measures. The death of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri left the field open for Mahmud, and he displayed great tact and ability not only in controlling the situation but also in preventing any other claimant from succeeding to the throne of Malwa.

After Mahmud had succeeded in completely breaking the party that had organised the accession of *Shazada* Mas'ud Khan, he contacted his father Malik Mughith *Khan-i-Jahan*, and sent him a message informing him about the situation and also requesting him to ascend the vacant throne.[2]

1 Mushtaqi has narrated a story about the secret ambition of Mahmud Khan which he nurtured in his heart. The details in the story are extremely defective. Vide *RUTKB*, II, pp. 144-145.

2 The message sent by Mahmud Khan to his father is mentioned by Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din and both of them practically give the same version. They mention that Mahmud Khan sent the following message: "That world cannot exist without a ruler. If the throne of the empire remains unoccupied by the person of a sovereign, many disturbances are produced in the world from the womb of time, the suppression of which becomes difficult. The kingdom of Malwa has become extensive and refractory, and

(*Continued on next page*)

Malik Mughith refused to accept the throne for himself but instead recommended his son to ascend the throne of Malwa. Mahmud's invitation to his father and the latter's refusal certainly provide a unique example in the entire range of Muslim rule in India. Malik Mughith seems to have realised the need of a vigorous Sultan, and being conscious of the abilities of his son which had drawn admiration from Hoshang Shah, he considered him to be the fittest candidate for the throne. He might have also realised that he could be of greater service to the state by remaining out of the throne; besides, constitutionally it would establish an example of the principle that ability and ability alone was the criterion for occupying the throne. By allowing his son to ascend the throne, he certainly established the principle of loyalty of the nobles to the crown. It is also not unlikely that the other consideration in his mind was that Malwa which was not free from the danger of ambitious neighbouring rulers needed a monarch of abilities and qualities which were sadly wanting in the remaining sons of Sultan Hoshang The recommendation of Malik Mughith was highly acclaimed by a large number of nobles

(*Continued from pre-page*)

turbulent men have not yet wakened from sleep Also the news has not yet reached the Sultans of the surrounding countries otherwise they would have advanced towards us from all directions." According to Firishta, besides the above message, Mahmud had also sent the message that the Sultanate belonged to him (Malik Mughith *Khan-i-Jahan*) by right and that he should quickly come and seat himself on the throne Firishta mentions the direct appeal by Mahmud to his father, which is not mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din. His version gives the impression of Mahmud seeking the advice or indirect consent from his father for his accession The message of Malik Mughith *Khan-i-Jahan* in reply to the message of his son is also very significant.

"No one should attempt to assume this exalted position which is a twin brother of the rank of the Prophet, unless he is possessed of the qualities of exalted lineage and perfect generosity and bravery and justice and wisdom (and unless this is the case) the affairs of the Empire do not acquire grandeur and glory. Praise be to God that my son has all those qualities which a Sultan should possess. It behoves him (therefore) that at an auspicious moment, he should place his foot on the *masnad* of the Sultanate and seat himself on the throne of Empire " *T A.* III (Tr), p 496

Shihab Hakim does not mention this invitation of Mahmud, but simply says that Malik Mughith recommended him to ascend the throne

Firishta, II, pp 478-479; *T.A* III, pp 311-312; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 60a-b

who elected Mahmud as their Sultan and offered him their allegiance

ACCESSION OF SULTAN MAHMUD KHALJI I.

Mahmud Khan ascended the throne of Malwa with the blessings of his father, and the coronation took place in Shadiabad Mandu on Monday the 29th *Shawwal* 839 A.H./14th May 1436 A.D. The regnal title of Sultan Mahmud as found from his coins are *As-Sultan-ul A'zam 'Ala-ud-Dunya wa-Din Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah Khalji as Sultan* and to these further honorifics of *Sikandar-us-Sani* and *Yamin-ul-Khilafat Nasir-i-Amir-ul Mummin* were added.[2] The *Khutba* was read in his

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 62a mentions 889 A.H. This is obviously an error of the scribe However on fol 276b it is correctly given as

سبع و ثمانين و ثمانمايه

TA III, p 312, *Heft Gulshan*, fol 122b,

Firishta, II, p 479, also gives Monday 29th *Shawwal* 839 A.H., and quotes *Tarikh-i-Alfi* as his source.

Briggs, Vol IV, p 196, gives the corresponding A.D. date as May 16th, 1435.

The Cambridge History of India, III, p. 353, gives 13th May 1436 A.D. as the date of Mahmud Khalji's accession.

Shihab Hakim clearly says the day was Monday

According to *Taqwim*, 29th *Shawwal* comes to 16th May Wednesday Hence the correct date should be 14th May G. Yazdani "*Mandu—the City of Joy*", p 15, following Wright says Mahmud crowned himself in 840 A.H./A.D. 1436.

Wright, II, p. 242. "The date of Muhammad's death has hitherto, on the authority of Firishta, been supposed to be A.H. 839, but a gold coin from the cabinet of the Asiatic Society (No 15 in the catalogue) clearly bears the date A.H. 840 and there is no reason for supposing the issue to have been posthumous. That being so the date of Mahmud's accession must be taken as A.H. 840/A.D. 1436."

Hamiduddm (Dr) in fn. 6, p. 238, "*Delhi Sultanate*" (Vidya Bhawan) however, has rightly pointed out that "Muhammad Shah's gold coin, bearing the 840 A.H to which Wright has referred appears to be a posthumous one which was presumably issued by the supporters of the Ghurid line ... . Wright has similarly catalogued three coins of Mahmud Khalji I which dates 877, 878 and 883 A.H. although Mahmud died in 873/A.H The practice of issuing posthumous coins was repeated in the case of Hussain Sharqi who died in 905 A.H but coins issued in his name in 906, 907, 909 and 910 are available."

2 *Wright*, II, p. 247.

Since these titles appear on a coin bearing A.H. 870 as the date, it is quite likely that the latter part of the title was added after receiving the envoy of the Khalifa.

name and coins were struck Thus at the age of thirty-three,[1] Mahmud embarked on the career of his life as Sultan, which was to prove to the people of Malwa an age of greatness and glory. In fact, right from the time of his accession, Mahmud followed the policy of his illustrious patron Hoshang Shah, and fully vindicated the cherished desire of the Sultan[2] "Mahmud has all the qualities for which I wish he had been my successor"

According to the general custom, Sultan Mahmud also made promotion of the *amirs* and bestowed on them honours and titles. He also made necessary arrangements in the administrative offices. The post of *Wazir* was given to *Mushir-ul-Mulk* with *Nizam-ul-Mulk* as his new title. Malik Barkhurdar was appointed as *'Ariz-i-Mamalik* and he was given the title of *Taj Khan*[3] While distributing offices and making promotions, Mahmud did not overlook his own father. He had great regard and affection for him and he also realised that he owed the crown of Malwa, in a great measure to his father But no office in the state would be suitable for him, because the officers were subordinates and servants of the Sultan, and Mahmud certainly did not like to see his father reduced to that status. Mahmud, therefore, bestowed on his father a high position without any office. To the various other titles already enjoyed by Malik Mughith, Sultan Mahmud now added the highest honorific "*A'zam Humayun*"[4] and added all the paraphernalia that were associated with the crown *A'zam*

1 The age of Mahmud Khalji at the time of his accession as given by Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din differs from that of Shihab Hakim

Firishta, II, p. 479 says, Mahmud was thirty-four years of age at his accession.

Nizam-ud-Din (*T A* III, p. 312) also says that Mahmud was in thirty-fourth year of his age at his accession Against these two, Shihab Hakim says (fol. 62a)—

سن مبارک آن حضرت الی یوم‌التناد باقی باد ، به سی و دو سال ترقی نموده بود

Shihab Hakim being contemporary, should be better acquainted with the age of the Sultan than the two later historians; besides, he is consistent in maintaining the age of Mahmud and therefore more reliable.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 41a.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 63b; *Firishta*, II, p. 479, *T A*. III, p 312

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 63b, *Firishta*, II, pp 479-480; *T.A.* III, p. 312.

Humayun was to have white umbrella and white quiver, and his household equipage was furnished with staff of gold and silver. Besides, the Sultan ordered that at the mounting or dismounting of *A'zam Humayun* all the attendants should say in loud voice "*Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahim*" which was exclusively used for the sultans. Thus, truly speaking, Mahmud started his rule under the vigilance and guidance of his father. *A'zam Humayun* proved a shelter to Mahmud, because by his judgment, timely action and tact he saved many a situation which otherwise might have taken a difficult turn.

ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF SULTAN MAHMUD

The nobles of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri who had earlier made an attempt to set up Mas'ud Khan on the throne and had been completely out-manoeuvred by Mahmud, could not passively accept his accession. Failing in their attempt at the initial stage, they now hatched up a conspiracy against the life of Sultan Mahmud. Qutb-Shaibani[1] and Nasr-ul-lah *Dabir*[2] and a few others held counsel with Malik Abu Yusuf Qawam,[3] who was the chief instigator of all this trouble, and prepared a plan. All these *amirs* were against the strong rule of a monarch. They had made an attempt to place a minor on the throne, because it would permit them to exercise full control over the government and allow them to rule according to their wishes,[4] whereas Mahmud was a strong person and they knew that they would not be able to dominate him.[5] Thus, according to the plan, they placed a ladder on the wall of the *Jama Masjid* which was adjacent to the palace of Sultan Mahmud and climbed on the roof whence they got down into the courtyard of the palace. But before they could proceed further, Sultan Mahmud, who always remained vigilant, appeared on the scene in person and wounded some of them. The confusion that was created led to noise and commotion and *Malik-us-Sharq* Nizam-ul-Mulk and *Malik-ul-Umara* Malik Mahmud Khizr[6] arrived on the spot

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 64a; *T A* III, 313, *Firishta*, II, 480

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 65a.

3 *Ibid*, fol. 65a; *T. A.* III, p. 313; *Firishta*, II, p 480 Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta closely follow Shihab Hakim, but mention the name only as Malik Yusuf Qawam

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 57b.

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 58a

6 *Ibid*, fol. 65b; *T.A.* III, p 313.

fully armed, along with a body of special guards and attacked the intruders. The conspirators got scared and along with the wounded they retraced their steps by the same route through which they had entered. But one of the wounded could not climb down the ladder and jumped into the courtyard of the mosque and broke his leg. While all others escaped, the person who had broken his leg remained in the mosque in that condition throughout the night[1] and in the morning when people came they found him and took him to the Sultan.[2] This man sought the pardon of the Sultan and gave him in writing the names of all the persons who were connected with the conspiracy. The Sultan gave orders that all the persons so named be brought before him and after due enquiries, some of them were executed.[3]

MALIK MUGHITH'S ADVICE FOR A POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

Sultan Mahmud wanted to mete out drastic punishment to all the conspirators, but his father Malik Mughith *A'zam Humayun* interceded on their behalf and begged for their pardon From the list of the persons who were pardoned, it is quite evident that they were partisans of the previous regime, and *A'zam Humayun* believed in reconciling them Instead of punishment he advised that proper *jagirs* should be conferred upon them, because by this act of kindness they might change their mind or otherwise if they created trouble in the future, they would be exposed before the people as malefactors Sultan Mahmud accepted the advice of his father and pardoned them and also granted them *jagirs* in different parts of the Sultanate. By this act he not only displayed generosity but also succeeded in removing them from the capital. In the distribution of *iqtas* and *jagirs*, *Shahzada* Ahmad Khan, was given the fort of Islamabad;[4] Malik Yusuf Qawam was given the title of Qawam Khan and *iqta* of Bhilsa; Malik Ichha was given the *iqta* of

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 66a

[2] *Ibid*, fol 66a. It seems that the sanctity of the mosque was respected and no searches were made in it, and therefore he remained there throughout the night and fell into the hands of the early visitors of the mosque

[3] *Ibid*, fol. 66a. According to Shihab Hakim this incident took place in A.H 840 /July, August, 1436 A.D

[4] *Ibid*, fol 66b, *TA* III, p 314, *Firishta*, II, p. 480.

It is difficult to identify Islamabad It was situated some way between Hoshangabad and Bhilsa.

Hoshangabad[1] and Nasir-ud-din was given the title of Nasrat Khan and the *iqta* of Chanderi.

FAILURE OF THE POLICY OF APPEASEMENT

Malik Mughith A'zam Humayun had expected that such distribution of *iqtas* and honours would appease the discontented elements of the state. But he had overlooked the secret ambitions of *Shahzada* Ahmad Khan, who naturally looked on the kingdom as his inheritance, and contrary to the expectations of Malik Mughith, these persons as soon as they reached their respective places, raised disturbances and planted the standard of revolt. Ahmad Khan was the first to raise the standard of revolt after reaching Islamabad.[2] The revolt of Ahmad Khan very soon took a serious turn because he succeeded in winning over quite a number of followers, and his forces began to increase day by day. Taj Khan was immediately sent to quell the rebellion, but he could not prove effective. Ahmad Khan even, at times, came out of the fort and attacked the besiegers. Finding his position difficult Taj Khan appealed to the Sultan for reinforcement[4] Sultan Mahmud also received the news of the simultaneous uprisings of Malik Ichha at Hoshangabad and Nasrat Khan at Chanderi.[5] He at once realised the seriousness of the situation and asked his father *A'zam Humayun* to punish the rebels. On the approach of *A'zam Humayun*, Ahmad Khan closed himself in the fort which compelled *A'zam Humayun* to make arrangements for a siege But *A'zam Humayun* at the same time tried to make a peaceful settlement with Ahmad Khan and sent to him a message of reconciliation through some wise men impressing upon the mind of the *Shahzada* the weakness of his position and the hopelessness of his cause,[6] and also pointing out the dangers of opposing the royal forces. Ahmad Khan had in the meantime appealed to Qawam Khan for help and support and had also received secretly some help in war materials and arms,[7]

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol 66b, *T A* III, p 314; *Firishta*, II p 480
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 67a *T.A.* III, p 314, *Firishta*, II, p 480
[4] *Firishta*, II, p. 480
[5] *Ibid*, II, p 481.
[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 68a, *T.A.* III, p 314
[7] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 69b; *T A* III, pp. 314, 315, *Firishta*, II, p. 481

which had increased his strength He, therefore, did not pay any heed to the wise counsels of *A'zam Humayun* The siege was thus prolonged *A'zam Humayun* who had other rebellions also to quell, could not afford to delay and therefore instigated one of the musicians to administer poison in the wine that was served to Ahmad Khan.[1] The death of Ahmad Khan led to the immediate surrender of the fort, which was accomplished on the tenth day. *A'zam Humyaun* then made necessary arrangements for the management of the fort and leaving matters in the hands of one of his trusted men, he proceeded towards Hoshangabad, where Malik Ichha had already raised the standard of revolt.[2] Malik Ichha, receiving the news of *A'zam Humayun's* arrival, lost his courage and leaving all his equipage at Hoshangabad, he started towards the hills of Gondwana. But when the Gonds learnt that he was only a rebel, they collected in a body and attacked him and his men with arrows and stones and killed all of them and took possession of their belongings. Thus without any effort, *A'zam Humayun* got rid of Malik Ichha. He then entered the fort of Hoshangabad and made fresh arrangements and appointed one of his trusted men to look after the place From Hoshangabad he proceeded towards Chanderi where Nasrat Khan was lately behaving treacherously Nasrat Khan, however, on receiving the news of *A'zam Humayun's* approach, thought of a stratagem and wanted to cover up his deeds by sweet words[3] and received him a few stages ahead of Chanderi. But *A'zam Humayun* could not be deceived because some nobles had already informed

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 69b & 70a According to Shihab Hakim Ahmad Khan indulged in sodomy, and subjected a handsome dancing boy to his object of lust This boy felt greatly disgraced and administered a good quantity of poison in the wine which caused his death The boy then threw himself outside the fort

T.A III, p 315, Nizam-ud-Din has closely followed Shihab Hakim but only says that when the siege was prolonged one of the musicians gave poison to Ahmad Khan in his wine and throwing himself out of the fort joined the camp of *A'zam Humayun*

Firishta, II, p. 481, is somewhat more clear when he adds either at the instigation of *A'zam Humayun* or for some reason

That the person who administered poison came out of the fort and joined *A'zam Humayun's* camp suggests that he was either a partisan of *A'zam Humayun* or he expected to be protected by him though he had committed this crime

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 70a; *T.A* III, p 315

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 71a; *T A* III, p 315, *Firishta*, II, p 481

him about the intention of Nasrat Khan On reaching Chanderi, he immediately summoned nobles, leaders and *Qazis* of the place and men of the city and enquired from each one of them about the conduct of Nasrat Khan. Each one of them gave evidence which proved that Nasrat Khan was trying to rebel. After the guilt of Nasrat Khan was established, *A'zam Humayun* removed him from office and appointed his own trusted man *Malik-ul-Umara Haji* Kamal[1] to look after the government of Chanderi.

After making a satisfactory arrangement of these important places, *A'zam Humayun* turned towards Bhilsa, reaching the suburb of the city on 17th *Ramazan* 840 A.H /25-3-1437 A D., where Qawam Khan had come after the fall of Islamabad. In the case of Qawam Khan too, *A'zam Humayun* sent some men of high position to bring him back to the right path and to give up hostility The treachery of Qawam Khan had been known[2] to all, yet when *A'zam Humayun* sent persons to him with advices of loyalty, it was only to prove to the people that he was not bent upon destroying them rather he wanted to reform them. But Qawam Khan had fully realised that his fate was sealed and therefore, instead of submitting, he fled away from Bhilsa but was overtaken and killed.[3] After the departure of Qawam Khan, *A'zam Humayun* made fresh arrangements for the administration of Bhilsa.

In suppressing these rebellious opponents and malefactors in the kingdom, *A'zam Humayun* showed rare ability. By combining stern attitude with willingness for conciliation, he succeeded in placing his opponents in the wrong, and thoroughly exposed them before the people as really disturbing elements which perfectly justified their punishment. Instead of awarding punishment outright he took full evidence in the case of Nasrat Khan, and in the cases of Ahmad Khan and Qawam Khan he sent wise and responsible persons to persuade them to give up hostility though he was strong enough to crush them at once.

INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH AND 'UMAR KHAN

During the reign of Sultan Hoshang Shah, Sultan Ahmad

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 71, *T A* III, p 315, *Firishta*, II, p 482

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 68a.
Sultan Mahmud was informed of Qawam Khan's treachery by his son

3 *Ibid*, fol 72a.

Shah of Gujarat had made several attempts to subjugate Malwa, but without any success In spite of repeated failures he had not given up the idea and when prince Mas'ud Khan went to his shelter he considered it as a good opportunity to invade Malwa While outwardly he would be invading Malwa only to restore Mas'ud Khan, but in reality Mas'ud Khan on the throne as his dependent would make Malwa his dependency Besides, by taking up the cause of Mas'ud Khan, he certainly could expect help from the enemies of Sultan Mahmud or from the officers of the previous regime [1] With these considerations he invaded Malwa of course keeping Mas'ud Khan in the front just when Sultan Mahmud was busy in subjugating the rebellions caused by the supporters of *Shahzada* Ahmad Khan. But Ahmad Shah was late in starting, because we learn from Shihab Hakim that *A'zam Humayun* received the news of the advancing armies of Sultan Ahmad Shah[2] when he had started from Bhilsa towards the capital after subjugating the rebels and making necessary arrangements at Islamabad, Hoshangabad, Chanderi and Bhilsa.[3] It was in the middle of *Rajab* 841 A H /Jan. 1438 A D. when Sultan Ahmad was encamped at Janakpur[4] that he sent a detachment of a larger number of soldiers and twenty-four elephants[5] with Mas'ud Khan. When *A'zam Humayun* received the news of the movement of this army, he immediately sent a letter to Sultan Mahmud intimating to him not to worry about him, but if Mas'ud Khan moved to attack, he should come out of the fort and make a counter-attack from the rear He then took a circuitous route, and avoiding the army of Mas'ud Khan at a distance of six *karoh*, entered Shadiabad Mandu by the Tarapur gate situated in the south of the fort[6] Sultan Mahmud was extremely delighted to receive his father inside the fort and performed the

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 73a, 73b.

2 *Ibid*, fol 72a, *T.A.* III, p 316, *Firishta*, II, p 482.

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 73b; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 197, says this incident took place in 841 A H /1437-38 A.D.

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, pp 43-44 : Sikandar simply mentions that between the years 836 A H. and 845 A H he (Ahmad Shah) led many expeditions; he was never defeated and the army of Gujarat was victorious over Mandu, Deccan, Asir and Mewar

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 72a.

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 72a.

6 *Ibid.*, fols 72a, 72b, *T A.* III, p. 316; *Firishta*, II, p 482

rites of offering thanks to God. *A'zam Humayun's* presence at this critical hour was considered by Sultan Mahmud a blessing of God. He was well aware of the presence of a large number of Hoshangshahi *amirs* inside the fort who were still hostile to him but who were afraid of *A'zam Humayun* not only because of his seniority but also because of his cunning

Soon after the arrival of *A'zam Humayun*, the fort of Mandu was besieged by Sultan Ahmad Shah Sultan Mahmud arranged the defences of the fort and at the same time sent out every day some army detachments to attack the Gujarati forces with the result that almost every day some skirmishes took place.[1] Though Sultan Mahmud wanted to come out of the fort and fight a decisive battle in the open, the pressure of hostile elements inside the fort where treachery could be expected any moment, prevented him from adopting such a course in hast He, therefore, thought first of all to liquidate the hostile elements. At this critical moment, however, instead of adopting drastic measures, he adopted the policy of conciliation and benefaction.[2] To keep the people well-contented during the siege, Sultan Mahmud opened the state granaries of the fort and grain was distributed to the poor free of cost.[3] *Langar Khanas* or kitchens were established from which cooked food was served to the *faqirs*, uncooked food was also served.[4] This distribution of grain and food did not allow scarcity to appear inside the fort, the result of which was that prices of commodities did not rise.[5] It seems that there was famine in Malwa during this period, because we find that though Ahmad Shah used to send parties which plundered the country-side yet they could not procure enough grain with the result that the price of grain remained cheaper inside the fort than it was in the camp of Ahmad Shah who was occupying the open country. With such condition prevailing inside the fort, the instigators could find no ostensible cause to incite the people in the fort.

Treachery during this age seems to have been common because, if Sultan Mahmud was apprehensive of treachery inside

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 74b
[2] *Ibid*,. fol. 74b.
[3] *Ibid*, fol. 74b; *Firishta*, II, p 482; *T A* III, p. 316
[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 74b, *Firishta*, II p 482
[5] *T.A* III, p 316

the fort, it was also not wanting in the camp of Ahmad Shah. Shihab Hakim, the contemporary historian, informs us in guarded language, blaming Ahmad Shah, that by his policy he dissatisfied a number of his own officers These officers did not like to remain in the camp of Ahmad Shah and came into the fort of Shadiabad where they were received warmly by the Sultan.[1] But from Nizam-ud-Din we find that Sultan Mahmud summoned to his service the *amirs* who had an attitude of rebellion and hostility towards Ahmad Shah by promising them gold and *jagirs*[2] Though Shihab Hakim makes us believe that the *amirs* came of their own accord, Nizam-ud-Din definitely indicates that these *amirs* were won over by Sultan Mahmud, which seems more likely, because at a time when he was expecting treachery in his own camp, he certainly would not hesitate to take all possible measures to weaken the camp of his enemy. Nizam-ud-Din makes it clear by saying that the departure of these *amirs* brought about a certain amount of weakness and disorder in the camp of Ahmad Shah[3] Shihab Hakim says that some nobles such as *Malik-us-Shaiq* Ahmad Mahmud Silah, Malik Saiyid Ahmad, Malik Qasim Sam, Sufi Khan Bhanderi and Rai Raghu[4] were angry with Ahmad Shah and came to the camp of Sultan Mahmud where they were welcomed.

The arrival of these nobles seems to have considerably strengthened the position[5] of Sultan Mahmud because through them he procured information about the condition of Sultan Ahmad Shah's camp At the suggestion of these Gujarati nobles, Sultan Mahmud decided to make a night attack[6] on the camp of Sultan Ahmad. But the information of this night attack was secretly conveyed to Sultan Ahmad by Qaisar Khan,[7] the

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mamudshahi*, fol 74d

[2] *T A.* III, pp. 316-317.

[3] *Ibid.*, III, p 317, *Firishta*, II, p 482

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 75a

[5] *T A.* III, p 317, *Firishta*, II, p. 482

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 75a.

[7] So in *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 75b and *T A* III, p 317, but *Firishta*, II, p. 482, gives Nasir Khan, and *Briggs*, IV, p. 260, erroneously says, "Noosrut Khan the officer he had lately been removed from Chanderi" But Malik Nasir-ud-Din, who was given the title of Nasrat Khan posted at Chanderi was *Dabir* and not *Dewatdar* Qaisar Khan and Nasir Khan certainly are two different persons

dawatdar of Hoshang Shah, which prevented the night attack from being effective.[1]

While the siege continued, Sultan Mahmud received information through a news-reporter that the people and the army of Chanderi, having revolted against *Malik-ul-Umara* Hajji, had killed him[3] and had accepted *Shahzada* 'Umar Khan as their leader. 'Umar Khan had escaped from Mandu, after the death of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, to Gujarat whence he had gone into the country of the Rana.[4] Finding that Sultan Mahmud was in trouble because of the Gujarati invasion, he considered the time opportune for his venture and having collected a small force, he came to Chanderi where he rightly expected to get local support. This revolt of Chanderi and the presence of 'Umar Khan there created a serious situation.[5] 'Umar Khan being a son of Sultan Hoshang could easily prove a strong rival for the throne. Unlike *Shahzada* Mas'ud, he was fighting in his own cause and thus could enlist the support of the local population who would not like a puppet Sultan or a protege of a Gujarat ruler on the throne of Malwa. Besides, the courage and determination displayed by 'Umar Khan at the time of his death clearly indicates that he was a prince of strong character, and firm determination with a sense of prestige. Thus for Sultan Mahmud, 'Umar Khan became a matter of immediate concern. When he received information that Sultan Ahmad Shah had taken 'Umar Khan's appearance on the scene as advantageous to his strategy and had deputed *Shahzada* Muhammad Khan Gujarati with a force of five thousand horses and thirty elephants to march to Sarangpur[6] to the aid of 'Umar Khan, he decided to take immediate measures and not to wait any more inside the fort of Mandu.

According to the decision, Sultan Mahmud got out of the

[1] *Ma'athir-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 75b, *T.A.* III, p. 317, *Firishta*, II, p. 482. Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta have closely followed the account of Shihab Hakim and have given a summary of his account.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 76a. Shihab Hakim persists in omitting Kamal, Nizam-ud-Din keeps it, vide *T.A.* III, p. 317.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 76a.

[4] *Tir Vinod*, I, p. 327. Shyaml Das has wrongly placed the incident in 859 A.H. / A.D. 1455.

[5] *Firishta*, II, p. 483; *Haft Gulshan* fol. 123b.

[6] *Firishta*, II, p. 483.

fort of Mandu, and marched towards Sarangpur[1] where *Shahzada* Muhammad was posted and who intended to march and join 'Umar Khan at Chanderi Thus Mahmud's first concern was to prevent the joining of the two forces He sent an advance guard under Taj Khan and Mansur Khan who met at Kanbal the Gujarati outpost created for guarding the route to Sarangpur by Ahmad Shah, and which had been placed under Malik Haji 'Ali. Malik Haji 'Ali was defeated at the first attack of Taj Khan and Mansur Khan, and fled direct to the camp of Sultan Ahmad Shah at Ujjain and conveyed to him the news that Sultan Mahmud had come out of the fort of Mandu and was marching in person towards Sarangpur. This news upset Sultan Ahmad Shah who was now gravely concerned about the safety of Prince Muhammad He immediately gave orders through fast moving messengers that *Shahzada* Muhammad was to leave Sarangpur at once and join him at Ujjain before the arrival of Sultan Mahmud. *Shahzada* Muhammad, accordingly, evacuated Sarangpur with cautious vigilance and avoiding all possible clashes, reached Ujjain [2] Thus Sultan Mahmud's first move isolated 'Umar Khan who was now left alone without Gujarati help

During the presence of *Shahzada* Muhammad at Sarangpur, Malik Ishaq son of Qutb-ul-Mulk, the *muqta* of the place, had been giving him assistance and was otherwise favourably disposed towards him and instead of opposing him, had cooperated with him. But at the news of Sultan Mahmud's advance and also the departure of *Shahzada* Muhammad, he realised his mistake. Shihab Hakim says that Malik Ishaq repented for his action when he learnt the misdeeds of Sultan Ahmad and immediately sent a petition to Sultan Mahmud acknowledging his guilt and seeking his pardon Along with this petition, he also sent information regarding *Shahzada* Muhammad's departure for Ujjain and 'Umar Khan's advance to seize Sarangpur.[3]

This information of Malik Ishaq was certainly of great value as it gave Sultan Mahmud the exact position of the enemy forces. Sultan Mahmud wanted to reconcile and win over as many

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 77b, *Firishta*, II, p 483, *T A*. III, p 317.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 77b, *Firishta* II, p 483 *T A* III p 318

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 78a, *T A*. III, p 318.

disaffected people as was possible and at a time when the state was full of enemies, he considered it worthwhile to avail himself of the opportunity of Malik Ishaq's petition and considered that by giving the valuable information he had made amends for his previous disaffection. While he proceeded towards Sarangpur, he sent Taj Khan in advance of him[1] with directions to pacify Malik Ishaq and other nobles and to assure them of the Sultan's pardon. By posting Taj Khan at Sarangpur Sultan Mahmud established a better control over the place while outwardly he declared his object to be that of giving assurance to the people.[2] On reaching Sarangpur Sultan Mahmud accepted the homage of Malik Ishaq and conferred on him the title of Daulat Khan[3] and also gave him a robe of honour[4] and ten thousand gold *tankas* in cash and doubled his stipend. He also distributed fifty thousand *tankas* and gave rewards, robes of honour and some horses to other nobles and leaders of different groups.[5] Thus Sultan Mahmud succeeded in completely liquidating all opposition in Sarangpur.[6] While Sultan Mahmud was at Sarangpur and making necessary arrangements, he received information that 'Umar Khan had already crossed Bhilsa and after burning the place was advancing towards Sarangpur, and that Sultan Ahmad Shah also was advancing towards Sarangpur with a force of thirty thousand horses and three hundred elephants. Sultan Mahmud at once decided to advance against 'Umar Khan and to disperse him. He might have felt that of the two enemies, 'Umar Khan was less powerful and could be quickly defeated, so that by the time Ahmad Shah would arrive near Sarangpur he would be free to meet him. Sultan Mahmud started against 'Umar Khan towards the end of the night and when a distance of only six *karohs* separated him from 'Umar Khan's army, he sent a detachment in advance which succeeded in capturing a few soldiers of 'Umar Khan. The prisoners were immediately sent to the Sultan and from these prisoners, information about the condition and the exact location of 'Umar Khan's army was

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 78a; *T.A* III, p. 318
2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 78a
3 *Ibid*, fol. 78b
4 *Ibid*, fol 78b
5 *Firishta*, II, p 483, *T A*. III, p. 318
6 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 78a

procured After getting the information, Sultan Mahmud immediately sent a small force under *Nizam-ul-Mulk* and Malik Ahmad *Silah*[1] to reconnoitre the jungles and roads He then divided the army into four parts and attacked 'Umar Khan from four directions early in the morning 'Umar Khan had also taken up his position He had ordered his army to meet Sultan Mahmud's forces and had concealed himself with a body of soldiers in ambush to make a surprise attack However this proved to be his blunder, because he was cut off from the rest of his army, and when at the first onslaught, his forces were scattered, he could not rally them again On the other hand, Sultan Mahmud succeeded in getting information of his whereabouts and his ambush through his scouts and directed his attack on him 'Umar Khan, realising that all was lost, made a final effort to encourage his soldiers by impressing on them that it was better to be slain while fighting than to submit to the son of a servant [2] He then attacked the army of Sultan Mahmud But he was captured and was immediately beheaded by the order of the Sultan

Sultan Mahmud then gave orders that the head of 'Umar Khan be circulated among the soldiers of Chanderi so that they may come to know the fate of their leader. The Chanderi army, overwhelmed by this news, immediately begged for quarter and offered its homage to the Sultan.[3] But during the night, they retired towards Chanderi where they acknowledged Malik Sulaiman, son of Malik *Sher-ul-Mulk* Ghuri, the *naib* of 'Umar Khan, as their leader and gave him the title of Sultan Shihab-ud-din Sultan Mahmud considered this fresh resistance as of lesser importance and simply sent a detachment to punish them and himself, now free from 'Umar Khan, turned towards Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati.

But in the meantime, pestilence had broken out with severity in the camp of Ahmad Shah and there was heavy mortality in his army. He was, therefore, forced to retire towards Gujarat [4]

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 484; *T A* III, p 319

[2] *Ibid*

Shihab Hakim has also paid sufficient tribute to his valour

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 82b, *T A*. III, p 319, *Firishta*, II, p 484

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 82a, 83b, *T A*. III, p. 320, *Firishta*, II, p 484

(*Continued on next page*)

While returning towards Gujarat, he caused heavy damage to the town and fort of Ashtanagar [1]

After the departure of Sultan Ahmad Shah, Sultan Mahmud made necessary arrangements for providing relief to the people who had suffered most during the invasion of Ahmad Shah He then returned to Shadiabad Mandu to re-equip his army and also for repairing the damages sustained by it. After seventeen days[2] when his army was ready, he again started for Chanderi [3]

FINAL SUBJUGATION OF CHANDERI

Sultan Mahmud seems to have anticipated the difficulties and the tough resistance that he would have to face in subjugating Chanderi and thus, his return from Sarangpur and allowing the soldiers to refresh themselves and also the re-equipment of the army, was not without purpose But the severity of the rainy season and the resistance that he had to face was beyond what he had expected On the very day of his arrival near Chanderi, it started raining heavily.[4] In spite of the heavy downpour, the battle was started, but instead of a regular pitched battle, the forces of Malik Sulaiman would come out of the fort and attack and then again retire into the fort [5] During this period, Isma'il Khan of Kalpi arrived in the camp of Sultan Mahmud and he was entrusted with the task of cutting off the

(Continued from pre-page)

These sources inform us that the pestilence was preceded by a dream to some religious men, giving warning for this impending calamity, but Ahmad Shah did not believe in what they said. Shihab Hakim mentions that Sultan Ahmad then himself dreamt and decided, but by that time the pestilence had already occurred. Shihab Hakim paints the picture as if it was a punishment to Ahmad Shah for the destruction and ravages caused by him in Malwa

Haft Gulshan, fol. 123b. According to Muhammad Hadi holy men in the Gujarati camp dreamt of the Prophet indicating approach of a pestilence, and Sultan Ahmad Shah believing in the authenticity of the dream wanted to return, but pestilence broke out before he could start

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 84a

Shihab Hakim says that Ashtanagar was inhabited by Muslims and had quite a large number of holy men and it was a beautiful place Ahmad Shah totally destroyed this place.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 85a, *T.A.* III, p 320

3 *Ma thir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 84b· *T.A.* III, p 320 *Firishta* II p 485

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 85b

5 *Ibid* fols 96a & b

supplies of the fort.[1] The besieged forces, finding that their supplies had been stopped, came out in a body and arranged themselves in battle array extending from the monastry (*Saum'a*) of *Shaikh* Wajih-ud-din to the monastry (*Ma'bad*) of *Shaikh* Salar a distance of about a *karoh*. But they could not stand the charge of Sultan Mahmud and hastily retired into the fort On reaching the fort, Malik Sulaiman *i.e* Shihab-ud-din died, but the rebels immediately elected the son of Shihab-ud-din as their leader[2] and again came out of the fort and fought another engagement. Sultan Mahmud got exasperated by their repeated attacks and gave orders for an assault on the fort and pitched his tents almost beneath the fort Thus during the entire period of the rains, Mahmud was engaged in fighting, and that year Chanderi witnessed severe rains because of which Mahmud's army suffered a lot However, in a few days, Mahmud succeeded in effecting a breach by means of *manjaniks* in the fortification which was however soon repaired by the defenders during the darkness of the night. Hard pressed, the besieged made a desperate attack on Mahmud, but were soon repulsed by him and were even pursued beyond the gates, from where he immediately retired to his camp. After making fresh arrangements, Mahmud made the final charge and succeeded in capturing the fort. But a party of the rebels escaped and took shelter in another fort situated on the top of the hills of Chanderi.[3] Mahmud now occupied for his residence the palace of Rajgarh [4] The rebels who had taken shelter on the hill top fort were now reduced to an extremely difficult position because they had hardly any provisions with them They, therefore, appealed

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 97a, *Zafar-ul-walih*, pp 197-198 According to *Zafar-ul-walih*, Isma'il Khan of Kalpi was going to Gujarat with the intention of proceeding from there on *Haj* He became the cause of settling peace

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 88a; *T A* III, p 320; *Firishta*, II, p 485

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 91b

"The fortress of Chanderi is situated on a low flat-topped hill on the edge of the table-land overlooking the valley of the Betwa The fort is one and a quarter mile in length from north to south by three-fourths of a mile in breadth It is very irregular in shape on the north and east faces, but the circuit of the wall measured on my plan is rather more than 4 miles This includes *Bala Kila* or citadel which occupies the north-west quarter of the fort, or somewhat less than one-fourth of the whole area"

Archaeological Survey of India Report (Cunningham), Vol II, p 404.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol 92a

for pardon and expressed their willingness to surrender.[1] Sultan Mahmud pardoned them but on condition that they should make their submission in open public.[2] The people of Chanderi also presented themselves and asked for pardon. The Sultan granted a general amnesty and gave orders for repairing the damage that was caused during this siege. The siege and the conquest took about four months.[3]

Sultan Mahmud entrusted Chanderi to the charge of *Malik-us-Sharq* Muzaffar Ibrahim,[4] who was also entrusted with the task of looking after all the forts and places in that territory.

RELIEF TO SHAHR NAU (OR NARWAR)

After making necessary arrangements for the government of Chanderi and being satisfied with the affairs of the place, when Sultan Mahmud was intending to return to Shadiabad Mandu, he received information that Dungar Sen,[5] the *Rai* of Gwalior was besieging Shahr Nau.[6] He also received a petition from Bahar Khan,[7] the *muqta* of Shahr Nau, that he was hard pressed by the Rajputs and though he had appealed to several rulers no one had taken any notice of it. From the purport of the petition and subsequent course of action taken by Sultan Mahmud, it appears that this place was not within his territory,[7] but he must have felt that by taking a timely action and relieving the

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 92a. *Firishta*, II, p. 485.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 92b; *Firishta*, II, p. 485.

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 91a. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. II, p. 403;

Cunningham says—"Mahmud then proceeded in person against Chanderi, which held out for eight months before the city was taken and after a few days the garrison of the hill fort capitulated."

Firishta, II, p. 485. According to Firishta, after the siege had then prolonged for eight months Mahmud could wait no longer and personally came up to the walls of the fort.

TA. III, p. 320. Nizam-ud-Din also says that the siege lasted for eight months.

Eight months is the total period of disturbance from the appearance of 'Umarkhan to its final subjugation.

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 92a.

5 *Ibid*, fol. 93b.

6 *Ibid.*, fol. 93b.

7 *Ibid.*, fol. 94a.

8 Shihab Hakim has given a long account dilating on the magnanimity of Mahmud in protecting the place resided in by the Muslims which when boiled down, conveys the sense that the place was till then outside his kingdom. Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta too do not make any statement to contradict Shihab Hakim.

place, he would easily win the allegiance of the *muqta* and thus the place would be brought under his suzerainty Though his army was in a bad condition because of the severity of the weather and rains etc. that it had to sustain during the Chanderi campaign, he gave orders for marching towards Gwalior, the capital of Dungar Sen Shihab Hakim clearly says that Mahmud realised that he had not the sufficient strength to face Dungar Sen but if he attacked Gwalior, Dungar Sen would be forced to vacate Shahr Nau and return to Gwalior for its protection.[1] To keep up the morale of his soldiers he told them that his aim was to relieve Shahr Nau and not the conquest of Gwalior. He also sent Isma'il Khan in advance[2] and gave orders to the *Arız-i-Mamalik* that the territories of his kingdom through which the army was to march should in no way be made to suffer by plunder etc.[3]

After entering the territory of Gwalior, Sultan Mahmud started plundering and ravaging the country-side The Rajputs *i e.* the *Muqaddams* and *Rais* assembled at Chaumuha[4]—a suburb of Gwalior, but in the engagement they were defeated Mahmud gave orders for the plunder of the place which replenished his army and his coffers to a great extent.[5] When Dungar Sen received the news of the attack on Gwalior, he raised the siege of Shahr Nau and started for Gwalior. Sultan Mahmud, getting this information and having accomplished his aim, also started returning by another route, thus avoiding all possibility of a clash. While returning, he gave orders to all the soldiers to carry a donkey-load of grain and bring it to Shahr Nau. He gave all this grain to the people of the place, and also gave 50 thousand *tankas* to Bahar Khan[6] and returned to Shadiabad.

SUBJUGATION OF THE PETTY BORDER CHIEFS

A year of peace at Mandu gave Sultan Mahmud sufficient time to replenish his army, and during this period he devoted his time to looking after the administrative affairs of the State After he was assured of conditions at home, he took up the matter of subduing the petty chiefs on the borders of his kingdom Shihab Hakim, tells us that these petty chiefs were a source of danger to the kingdom, because, with their war

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 95a. [2] *Ibid*, fol 95b
[3] *Ibid*, fol. 96a [4] *Ibid*, [5] *Ibid*, fol 96b [6] *Ibid*, fol 97a

elephants, they defied everyone and could also attack at any moment [1] But the real motive of Mahmud was two folds, firstly, to secure from these chiefs elephants for his own army[2] and, secondly, to reduce them to subordination so that they might serve as strong buffers on the borders against any possible aggression on the part of the rulers of Khandesh and the Bahmani Kingdom

According to his plan, he started from his capital in 844 A.H.[3]/ A.D. 1440-41 with a well-equipped army and fifty elephants and marched towards Khandwa, where *Rai* Narhar Das[4] was holding his own and had not submitted to Mahmud. The territory of Khandwa lying in Nimar region was strategically of great importance as it lay directly between Malwa and Khandesh. By forced marches, he covered a distance of eighty *karoh* during the night and reached the borders of Khandwa without the enemy being aware of his movements During this march, though he passed through flourishing villages and fields, he did not allow his soldiers to destroy them.[5] The ruler of Khandwa, thus surprised, did not offer resistance; he left his place and fled away. The Sultan then gave orders for the plunder of the place and got a larg number of cattle etc. and took possession of all the belongings of the ruler. This victory at the outset was considered by the Sultan as most auspicious and he proceeded further on his march.

After reducing Khandwa, Mahmud Khalji marched into the territory of Khora and arrived at Khirki[6] and gave orders for the plunder of the place. From Khirki he directed his march

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 101a

[2] *Ibid*, fol 100b That Mahmud's aim was subjugation and not destruction is borne out by *Zafar-ul-walih* where it is stated that had *Rai* Har Das acted like Barsing Doe (Narsingh Deo) of Kherla his territory would have been saved from destruction and he too would have lived in peace *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 198

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 101a, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 198. Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta have not narrated the events of this year.

[4] So in the *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 101a, but *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 198 gives the name as Har Das

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 101b

[6] *Ibid*, fol. 101b.

Zafar-ul-walih, p. 198, has Laharni as the place which was destroyed by Mahmud after the destruction of Khandwa

towards the ruler of the territory then called Ajhra.[1] This territory on the northern border of the Bahmani kingdom was of great strategic importance, besides, through this territory lay the access to the regions in the east where elephants were available. The ruler of Kherla (Ajhra) had submitted to Sultan Hoshang and had accepted the suzerainty of Malwa, but after the death of Sultan Hoshang, he had become independent again[2] Nar Singh Deo, the ruler of Ajhra, when received the information of Sultan Mahmud's advance towards his capital, at once came out of the fort and personally attended upon Sultan Mahmud with six elephants and gave five more elephants as tribute.[3] Sultan Mahmud immediately accepted his submission and was also pleased with him as he considered this a good beginning for procuring elephants for his army.

From Ajhra, Sultan Mahmud turned towards Sarguja, accompanied by *Rai* Nar Singh Deo of Ajhra. But the guides lost their way and Mahmud, along with his entourage, reached a range of mountains then known as Kemsar[4] This range was inhabited by wild tribes who were afraid of the Royal Camp and they could not understand their language Sultan Mahmud kept on moving for three days, but ultimately succeeded in persuading one of these wild tribesmen[5] to direct the route Through signs they directed him towards the region of Keswal,[6] the route of which as full of difficulties Thus with good deal of difficulty Sultan Mahmud reached the region which was known as Bandugarh[7] After the subjugation of Chanderi Sultan Mahmud had learnt that from Bandugarh all the merchants used to procure elephants and sell them at different places[8] but he had not then succeeded in finding its location. His aim on the present occasion seems to have been to occupy

[1] Ajhra seems to be the name of the territory of which Kherla was the capital or the stronghold *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 102a, has Ajhra, but *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 198, has Kherla.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 102a

[3] *Ibid*

[4] *Ibid*, fol. 102a; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 198. Kemsar seems to be the Kaimur Hills

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 102b

[6] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 118 calls this place as Kohpaya

[7] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 102b, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 198 has 'Hindukar'. Bandugarh is the original place of the Rewa Ruling family

[8] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 120b

this territory and thus secure the source of elephant supply. But on reaching Bandugarh he found that it was full of jungles and inhabited by wild tribes and realised that even if he conquered this wild territory, his primary aim would remain unaccomplished To procure the elephants he would have to send army every time and even then the actual place of the elephant hunt would not be known To send an army every time would mean a force constantly engaged on this side which he otherwise could easily employ elsewhere. He therefore sent Saiyid Ahmad Gujarati and another person,[1] both of whom were reputed for their wisdom and cleverness, to find out the possibilities and also the place of the habitation of the elephants.

Saiyid Ahmad came across a body of these tribesmen who used to deal in elephants and tried to win them over by means of his kind behaviour, but they made exorbitant demand for the elephants and thus no deal could be effected[2] Saiyid Ahmad however kept his patience and soon learnt that four elephants were being taken by Chatur Sen, the son-in-law of Bhoj the *muqaddam* of Sarguja, and Bijal Bhan[3] to Khora for sale Saiyid Ahmad approached them and brought them into the presence of the Sultan Sultan Mahmud welcomed them and lavished on them costly presents He again deputed Saiyid Ahmad with presents consisting of gold and silver, costly clothes, Arab horses and utensils for *Rai* Bhoj, with instructions to learn the whereabouts of the elephants. Realising the difficulties of the place Sultan Mahmud resorted to winning over the friendship of the local people. He caused small bags of red cloth to be filled with gold and silver and to be tied with the branches of trees and moved slowly following the route taken by Saiyid Ahmad. The local people, finding the contents of these bags, were pleased and gradually became friendly with the soldiers of the army. The Sultan also began to distribute gold and silver and costly clothes and ornaments to them with the result that they

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 102b,

The other name is not clear, it is written as Suwa Saudaurah

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 103a. Shihab Hakim incidentally mentions a portion of their language and also gives the Persian rendering of it

بزبان ی زبانی گفتند کت تم کت هم یعنی کجا شما

و کجا ما

[3] *Ibid*

became attached to the Sultan[1] and not only disclosed the place of elephant hunt but also agreed to supply elephants to the Sultan as and when they would procure them Next morning when Sultan Mahmud gave orders for marching towards Sarguja, the *muqaddams* of Amartu and Sangur (or Sankar) sent fifteen elephants as price of their safety to the Sultan.[2] Sultan Mahmud accepted them and in return rewarded the *muqaddams* lavishly He then resumed his march and after three days, crossing the river *Kenjod* and forests, reached Sarguja[3]

The *muqaddams* of Sarguja including *Rai* Bhoj readily submitted to the Sultan and presented to him many elephants. The Sultan in return gave them costly presents. They also promised on oath to give to Mahmud all the elephants that they would acquire by any means. *Rai* Bhoj pleaded with the Sultan to desist from sending army into his country in future, as he felt that he did not possess sufficient means to entertain them, and also promising that for any demand a message from the Sultan would be enough[4] He then appealed that the rulers of Ratanpur and Raipur had been giving him trouble in the past, and also informed him that their territories abounded in elephants and contained a diamond mine[5] The Sultan then proceeded towards that direction. When the *muqaddams* of Ratanpur and Raipur came to know of the movement of Sultan Mahmud, they immediately brought twelve huge elephants and a few pieces of very large and valuable diamonds The Sultan accepted these presents and returned to Sarguja. Sultan Mahmud procured from these areas fifty elephants[6] for his *pilkhana* and returned towards Shadiabad where he reached in 845 A.H. /A.D. 1441-42 and started the construction of the *Madrasa*[7] in the capital.

Thus Sultan Mahmud succeeded in establishing his suzerainty

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 103b, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 198

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 104a

According to Shihab Hakim, Amartu was situated in the *mauza* of Bartunka.

[3] *Ibid*, fol. 106a

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 106b. Shihab Hakim says that this undertaking was honestly kept till the writing of the book; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 199.

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 106b.

[6] *Ibid*, fol. 107a

[7] *Ibid.*, fol 108b.

over these places[1] His chief aim was to procure elephants from these tracts and therefore, he abstained from using force. He also realised the difficulties in the way of any permanent occupation of the territory and hence, instead of a display of pure force, he extended friendship and protection, and certainly he was amply rewarded for pursuing such a policy. The region of Sarguja became a permanent source of elephant supply to his army, which in those days constituted an important wing of the army.

MAHMUD'S ATTEMPT ON DEHLI

Mahmud's expedition into Khandwa and Sarguja not only considerably increased his military strength but it enhanced his prestige also. It was because of his enhanced prestige and reputation that the dissatisfied elements of Dehli and the Mewati leaders, who were displeased[2] with Sultan Muhammad Shah Sayid, approached him with the offer of the throne of Dehli. While Sultan Mahmud was in Harauti, petitions from chiefs of Mewat[3] such as Jalal Khan, Ahmad Khan, Hasan Khan and Mubarak Khan[4] came to him inviting him to march on Dehli and either to punish the ruler who did not look after the administration or to remove him and occupy the throne.[5] The petition was followed by the arrival of some *Sayyids* and *Ulama*, who fully corroborated the views expressed in the petition[6] Such a petition, backed by an important section of the Dehli population,

[1] That suzerainty was established is borne out by the fact that *Rai* Bhoj was given a service of ten elephants which he kept honestly throughout. *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 106b

بهوج مقدم از غایت نوازش و مراحم خسروانیه که در
بارهٔ خویش مبدول یافته، از راه انکسار عجز و انکسار ده
زنجیر فیل خدمتی قبول کرده

[2] *Firishta*, II, p. 485

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*. fol. 111b, *T A* III, p 322, *Badayuni* (Ranking I), p. 398; *Firishta*, II, p 485.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 111b These names are given by Shihab Hakim only, others have not mentioned the names.

[5] *Ibid*, fol 111b While Shihab Hakim mentions the alternatives, others simply say that invitation was for occupying the throne; *Firishta*, II, p 586; *T. A.* III, p. 322; *Badayuni* (Ranking I), p 398.

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 111b

must have inflamed the ambition of Sultan Mahmud No doubt he was already Sultan of Malwa but Dehli had a prestige of its own and he must have felt that with his resources of Malwa if he could occupy the throne of Dehli also the rest of the country could easily come under his obedience and thus once more the Khalji rule would be established over the country. Whatever considerations might have worked on his mind, he readily accepted the invitation and immediately made preparations for his march on Dehli

Sultan Mahmud marched towards Dehli in the end of the year 845 A H /1442 A D.[1] and during the period of his fifteen days' march at every stage important persons, *Ulama* and *Mashaikh* came to his camp and joined him.[2] The Sultan lavishly distributed presents to these people which the contemporary historian estimates at sixty thousand *tankas* in cash besides robes etc Thus we find that Sultan Mahmud was moving with a definite aim and by his bounty he was trying to win over as many supporters as possible to his side before his arrival at Dehli. Among the important persons who arrived at his camp, one was Yusuf Khan Hindauni,[3] when the Sultan was in the vicinity of Hinduan. The Sultan received him and bestowed lavish presents on him

From Hindaun Sultan Mahmud marched to Tilhat which, according to Shihab Hakim, was situated at a distance of two *karoh* from Dehli[4] Sultan Muhammad Shah Saiyid was extremely scared by the news of the arrival of Malwa forces and thought of leaving the capital and take shelter in the Panjab[5] but on the persuasion of the nobles finally agreed to stay in Dehli and sent his son *Shahzada* 'Ala-ud-din with a strong force

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 112a, *Firishta*, II,p 486 has towards the end of 844; *Badayuni* (Ranking I), p. 398 also gives A H 844 Nizam-ud-Din (*T.A.* III, p. 322) gives 845 A H as the year of receiving the petition and later in the same year his march on Dehli, but in the section on Muhammad Shah (Vide, I, p 291) he mentions 844 A.H /1440-41 A D as the year of Sultan Mahmud's arrival in Dehli; *The Delhi Sultanate*, (Vidya Bhawan), p. 177 places the invasion in A D. 1440.

But as noted earlier in A D 1440 Mahmud was busy in Sarguja etc

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 112a

3 *Ibid*, fol. 112a; *T A*. III, p 322; *Firishta*, II, 486

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 112b; *T A* III, p 322 has Tabta.

5 *Firishta*, II, p. 486

to oppose the Malwa army. *Shahzada* 'Ala-ud-din pitched his camp keeping Tughlaqabad at his back[1] He was further reinforced by Sayid Khan and Darya Khan[2] Sultan Mahmud Khalji also deputed his two sons Ghiyath-ud-din and Fidan Khan to lead the attack and himself remained at the base The two armies met on the plain of Mulhan[3] and after a severe battle that lasted the whole day the armies retired to their camps at the approach of night The battle seems to have been an indecisive one, though Shihab Hakim[4] informs us that the Malwa army gained victory, while the Afghan historians[5] claim victory for Dehli. But Nizam-ud-Din does not speak of victory gained by any side

Next day, however, overtures for peace were made by Sultan Muhammad Shah Sayid,[6] and were readily accepted by Sultan Mahmud who, after concluding peace, returned to Shadiabad As regards the motives of the two respective Sultans for concluding peace without a decisive result, the historians give different versions.

'Abdullah and Nimatullah do not speak of the treaty at all According to Pandey,[7] "because of Muhammad Shah's pusillanimity, an offer of peace on the basis of *status quo ante bellum* was made" However the real cause could not have been mere "pusillanimity" because Dehli forces claimed to have won the battle Sultan Muhammad must have realised the disaffection that existed in the army against him and also must have been conscious of the mutual jealousy that existed between

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 112b; *T.A.* III, p. 322, has Sultan Muhammad in command of the army; *Badayuni* (Ranking I), pp 398-9b has 'Ala-ud-din in command of the army, *Firishta*, II, p 486, only says teg *Shahzada* in the command without giving the name.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 113a; *T.A* III, 322 Nizam-ud-Din has further added Malik Bahlol Lodi, and Qutub Khan to the two mentioned by Shihab Hakim But at this time Malik Bahlol and Qutub Khan were not prominent and though they were present they could not have been with independent forces

[3] The name is mentioned by Shihab Hakim The battle certainly was fought between Tilhat and Tughlaqabad, the bases of the two respective armies.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 113b.

[5] *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p 6, *Makhzan-i-Afghani* (Roy), p. 29, *First Afghan Empire*, p 50, Pandey says that the battle remained inconclusive.

[6] *Firishta*, II, p. 486.

[7] *First Afghan Empire*, p 50.

the different nobles and must have felt that prolongation of the war might prove prejudicial to his interest. Regarding the motives of Sultan Mahmud Khalji, the contemporary historian Shihab Hakim[1] mentions that Malwa army achieved victory by the evening and the enemy retired, but in the night the Sultan saw in a dream that some persons had revolted in his capital This story of the dream was later picked up by Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta Nizam-ud-Din also adds that "it has come under my notice that it appears in some history, that news was conveyed to Sultan Mahmud, that Sultan Ahmad Gujarati was about to invade Malwa, and for this reason Sultan Mahmud came back This version appears to be the most correct."[2] So far as the contemplated Gujarati invasion is concerned, it is hinted by Mushtaqi also[3] But even if Sultan Ahmad contemplated an invasion, actually no such invasion took place On the contrary the envoys of Ahmad Shah came with presents from Gujarat to Shadiabad. It is also difficult to believe that a mere dream would upset a person of Sultan Mahmud's disposition to give up the throne of Dehli if it was within his grasp The real situation, therefore seems to be, that when he had started for Dehli he had expected a welcome from all, but on the contrary, the very first day he met a tough resistance and became doubtful about the final issue. In this predicament he saw the dream, and at once decided to be contented with the kingdom he already possessed and thus readily accepted the offer of peace. Later when Mahmud was returning he received the information about this disturbance which had been quelled by his father, but the news of disturbance could not have reached him on the very morning of its occurrence. That the nature of resistance offered to him was really tough, can also be imagined by the fact that even after the conclusion of the treaty, when he was returning, his rear was attacked by Bahlol Lodi.[4] Sultan Mahmud returned straight to Shadiabad by forced marches reaching his capital on first of *Muharram* 846 A H [5]/12th May, 1442 A D.

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 113b, 114a

[2] *T.A* III, (Tr.), p 511.

[3] *Mushtaqi*, *RUTKB* II, p 146

[4] *First Afghan Empire*, p. 50.

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 114b *Firishta*, II, p. 486, has in the beginning of 845 A H

ENVOYS FROM THE RULERS OF JAUNPUR AND GUJARAT

After his return from Dehli, messengers and envoys from various courts came to him with felicitations and presents. Shihab Hakim narrates that after the expiry of the first few days of *Muharram*, the Sultan received all the envoys in an open court, where all the presents from various rulers were displayed and accepted. In return Sultan Mahmud also gave them presents and rewarded the envoys so lavishly that for them it became a matter to remember ever after. It established cordial relations with the rulers. Amongst these envoys Shihab Hakim especially mentions the envoys of Ahmad Shah Gujarati and Mahmud Shah Sharqi, and says that Ahmad Shah Gujarati's envoys had arrived before the arrival of the Sultan in Shadiabad.[2]

Thus we find that by the beginning of the year 846 A.H./May, 1442 A.D. Mahmud Khalji had thoroughly established himself in Malwa and his position as the lawful Sultan was recognised by contemporary rulers.

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 117a

از اطراف و اکناف سلاطین و ملوک رسل و رسائل بدرگاه دولت پناه روان کردند و رایان و رایگان سر تسلیم در ربقهٔ اطاعت آوردند

[2] *Ibid*

Chapter I

MAHMUD'S RELATIONS WITH GUJARAT AND JAUNPUR

A *Relations with Gujarat*

The question of Champaner—Mahmud invades Gujarat —Battle of Kaparbanj—Defeat of Mahmud and its causes—Punitive expedition to Surat and Rander— Mahmud concludes treaty with Gujarat—The result of the treaty

B *Relations with Jaunpur*

The question of Kalpi—Attitude of Nasir ibn 'Abdul Qadir towards Malwa—Mahmud Sharqi occupies Kalpi —Nasir ibn 'Abdul Qadir appeals to Mahmud Khalji and takes shelter in Chanderi—Mahmud Khalji asks Mahmud Sharqi to restore Nasir ibn 'Abdul Qadir to Kalpi—The war between Malwa and Jaunpur—Mahmud Sharqi seeks intervention of pious persons—The treaty with Jaunpur and final settlement of Kalpi affair.

A. RELATIONS WITH GUJARAT

MALWA'S relations with Gujarat had remained strained ever since the imprisonment of Hoshang Shah. No doubt treaties were often concluded but only to be followed by fresh hostilities. Sultan Ahmad Shah had for the last time in his life found an opportunity at the accession of Mahmud Khalji, and had invaded Malwa in the cause of *Shahzada* Mas'ud Khan, just when the new Sultan was busy in establishing himself and suppressing the rebellions of the sympathisers of the Ghuri dynasty. But the disaffection in the Gujarat camp and the sudden outbreak of pestilence in his camp prevented him from taking advantage of the situation and he had to return to Gujarat without achieving anything. Sultan Mahmud Khalji as a capable ruler was fully conscious of this menace from Gujarat since the time of Sultan Hoshang. Thus while he kept a vigilant eye on aggression from Gujarat, he devoted himself to strengthening his army by procuring elephants and tributes from such neighbouring petty chiefs as were either once feudatories of

Hoshang Shah or were weak and were on the borders of Malwa No doubt Ahmad Shah had shown a friendly attitude towards Sultan Mahmud after his return from Dehli by sending his envoys with felicitations, but the death of Ahmad Shah[1] must have been a great relief to him, because, Sultan Muhammad, the successor of Ahmad Shah was an incapable ruler. Thus relieved from any menace from Gujarat, Sultan Mahmud plunged himself with full vigour in territorial aggrandisement He successfully took possession of Gagraun and Ranthambhor, subdued Bundi and Kotah and helped Nasir 'Abdul Qadir of Kalpi against Mahmud *ibn* Ibrahim Sharqi and made two unsuccessful attempts on Mewar.

While Sultan Mahmud was engaged elsewhere, he was not indifferent towards Gujarat He was nourishing the acquaintance of *Shaikh* Kamal and was constantly sending him *futuh*,[2] and patiently waited for an opportune moment to invade the country The first opportunity he got in 854 A H /1450-51 A D. when Ganga Das, the *Raja* of Champaner, appealed for help to Sultan Mahmud against the invasion of his territory by Sultan Muhammad Shah of Gujarat. *Rai* Ganga Das had been defeated in the first encounter and had taken shelter in the fort of Champaner where he was besieged by the forces of Sultan Muhammad Shah. As the siege continued *Rai* Ganga Das

[1] *TA.* III p 124, has 4th *Rabi* II, 946 A.H /12th August 1442 A D as the date of Ahmad Shah's death, *Firishta*, II, p 374.

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p 59, has 845 A H. /1441-42 A D as the year of his death, which obviously is wrong He was born on the night of 19th *Zilhijja* 793 A.H./17-11-1391 A D. and at his death the age of Ahmad Shah is given as 52 years and a few months, which comes to 846 A.D as the year of his death.

Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol 117a, also shows Ahmad Shah living during the month of *Muharram* 846 A H

Ma'athir-i-Rahimi, II, p 137, also gives 846 A H as the date of his death

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 65

[3] *TA* III, p 126, gives 853 A.H. as the year of Muhammad's invasion on Champaner and on p. 330, 854 A H as the year of Ganga Das's appeal

Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol 167b, has 852 A H ; *Firishta*, II, pp 374, 491 & *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 2, also put this invasion of Champaner in 853 A H,

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p. 64, puts the invasion of Champaner in 855 A.H which obviously is an error, because Muhammad Shah, after the attack and after lapse of some time died in *Muharram* 855 A H ,

Commissariat, p 129 says Muhammad invaded Champaner in 1449 A.D

decided in his council[1] to seek the help of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who was a strong ruler and also because Champaner had always been on friendly terms with Malwa.

This small Rajput principality of Champaner,[2] situated between Gujarat and Malwa, had been trying to retain its independent existence ever since the rise of Gujarat and Malwa. Though it paid tribute to Gujarat it ever remained intent upon throwing off the allegiance and whenever hard pressed by Gujarat, it sought help from Malwa The territory of Champaner extended to Dohad on the Malwa side and Godhra on the Gujarat side,[3] and thus served as a buffer between these two kingdoms. In consequence thereof, Gujarat and Malwa both were interested in the attitude of this state Gujarat which claimed suzerainty over Champaner could not afford to lose it as it would expose Gujarat to aggression from Malwa, and the Malwa Sultan on his side was equally interested to see that Champaner retained her existence and preferably on terms of friendship and of protection. Mahmud Khalji, therefore, could not afford to remain inactive when this state was in danger of being wiped out by Muhammad Shah. Once Champaner was brought under the direct rule of Gujarat the boundary of Malwa on that side would be seriously exposed to Gujarat. Thus it was out of political expediency that Mahmud wanted to take up the cause of *Rai* Ganga Das of Champaner, which he expected would also afford him an opportunity to judge the situation in Gujarat and would also enable him to find out their military strength. But Sultan

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol 165b. Shihab Hakim says, "When the period of siege prolonged the people in the fort suffered great hardship, *Rai* Ganga Das consulted his chiefs to find a way out of the difficulty At last they decided that the difficult task could not be solved except by a stronger king. As they had been in the service of Khalji dynasty it would be better for them to approach the Sultan because the water of his sword only can extinguish this fire"

[2] The Rulers of Champaner had sway over the almost impregnable hill fortress of Pavagadh Pavagadh is situated 25 miles South of Godhra and about the same distance north-east of Baroda and about 78 miles from Ahmedabad The hill of Pavagadh is said to have passed into the hands of the Chauhan branch of Rajputs sometime about 1300 A H when they were fugitives from Ranthambhor before the armies of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji The ruins of the Rajput city of Champaner are on the lower spurs to the north-east of the Pavagadh hill *Commissariat*, p. 187, *Bom Gaz* III, p 252, VI, pp. 112-3.

[3] *Zafar-ul-walih*. p 3

Mahmud wanted to carry public opinion with him and never wanted to look like an autocrat In the political atmosphere of the time, while the Muslim monarchs fought with each other, a section of the Muslim community denounced it, particularly if a Muslim monarch fought against another Muslim ruler for the cause of a Hindu chief Sultan Mahmud therefore considered it wise to take a pre-sanction or decree (*fatwa*) of jurists on the issue. The jurist or *Ulama* class being dependent on the Sultan, cared more for his wishes and gave the *fatwa* in favour of Mahmud's taking up the cause of Ganga Das [1] *Rai* Ganga Das while seeking the help of Sultan Mahmud, had offered to pay one lakh *tankas*[2] at every halt for the expense of the army

Sultan Mahmud with a well-equipped army marched towards the territory of Gujarat and pitched his tents at Dohad He adopted the same tactics that he had applied for the relief of Shahr Nau. Instead of marching straight to Champaner against the besieging force, he directed his attack towards the capital of Gujarat, which, he calculated, would immediately divert the attention of Sultan Muhammad from Champaner towards his own kingdom.[3]

Sultan Mahmud's anticipations proved correct. The news of his arrival at Dohad led Sultan Muhammad to raise the siege of the fort and return towards his capital.[4] On his way he pitched his tents at Godhra in the pargana of Saonli.[5] While Sultan Mahmud was at Dohad he received information that *Shahzada* Qutb-ud-din had gone towards Idar to demand the

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 167. Shihab Hakim clearly mentions about Mahmud's asking for the *fatwa* and the jurists giving it in his favour upholding his action. The long justification for Mahmud's action as given by Shihab Hakim clearly indicates the contemporary political atmosphere.

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p. 64. Sikandar has condemned the action of Mahmud as anti-Islamic and a result of his greed

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 64· *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 3, says a fixed sum was offered but does not mention the amount· Nizam-ud-Din in Gujarat history mentions the amount as one lakh *tankas* Vide, *T.A.* III, p. 126, but in the Malwa section following Shihab Hakim, does not mention the amount of this as a condition Vide, *T.A* III, p. 331. *Firishta* II p 375.

[3] *Commissariat*, p 130 · When the ruler of Mandu reached Dohad which belonged to Gujarat and was the frontier between two kingdoms the Gujarat Sultan thought it expedient to raise the siege of the fort of Champaner and to retire "

[4] *T A* III, p 331

[5] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* p 65

tribute from the Raja Thus from the point of view of military strategy, it was a difficult situation for Mahmud, because the Gujarat army was divided into two sections and could at any time attack his forces from two directions But Sultan Mahmud did not pay much attention towards Qutb-ud-din and marched to Balasinor.[1] This move of Mahmud Shah led to immediate withdrawal of Sultan Muhammad into Ahmedabad.[2] Sultan Mahmud also returned and pitched his tents on the banks of the river Mahendri (Mahi) *Rai* Ganga Das came to offer his tribute in his camp on the Mahendri and paid thirteen lakhs of *tankas* in cash and some horses as tribute.[3] Mahmud in return gave him a gold embroidered robe and gave him permission to return. He then turned towards Shadiabad and on his way also gave permission to *Rai* Bir, *Raja* of Idar, to return to his territory and also gave him five elephants, twenty-one horses and three lakh *tankas* in cash.[4]

Sultan Mahmud felt convinced that the Gujarat Sultan was not capable of meeting him on the battle-field as he had avoided an encounter during Malwa's help to Ganga Das of Champaner Mahmud had returned from the Mahendri river, only to re-arrange his army and to invade Gujarat from another direction. In the meantime, Sultan Muhammad Gujarati seems to have antagonised a section of the nobility by showing his preference for a *Bakkal*,[5] whereas Mahmud had succeeded in getting blessings from *Shaikh* Kamal From the account of Sikandar it appars that Mahmud was creating disaffection in Gujarat and was gaining support for himself According to Sikandar, Mahmud Khalji used to send *futuh* to *Shaikh* Kamal with whom he had been acquainted since his early days. Mahmud Khalji requested the *Shaikh* that if by his blessings, he could get the kingdom of Gujarat he would serve his *Khanqah*. He also sent 500 Gujarati gold *Dinars* as *futuh* Someone, however, informed Sultan Muhammad about this gift and he immediately sent a

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 167b

[2] *Ibid.*, fol 168a, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 65, says Sultan Muhammad fell ill at Godhra and returned towards Ahmedabad.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 491

[4] Shihab Hakim mentions 5 elephants, 21 horses fully decorated, but Nizam-ud-Din adds to these three lakh *tankas* in cash

Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol 168b, *TA* III, p 331, *Firishta*, II, p 491.

[5] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 66

party to enquire into the matter The investigating party recovered these 500 *dinars* and deposited the money in the treasury *Shaikh* Kamal was so much embittered that he began to pray for the destruction of Muhammad and success of Mahmud The *Shaikh* seems to have done some propaganda also, because Sikandar says, after assuring the kingdom of Gujarat for Mahmud in the court of God, *Shaikh* Kamal sent an invitation to Sultan Mahmud to invade Gujarat

If there is any truth in the narration of Sikandar, the invitation should have come during the period following Mahmud's return from Mahendri, because after so much effort and expenditure Mahmud was not the man to delay in executing a plan, which matured with the invitation of the Shaikh

Sometime towards the end of 854 A H [1]/January, 1451 A D Mahmud started with a large force[2] and directed his attack from the south-eastern side of Gujarat Sultan Mahmud crossed *Ghati Bowali*[3] and besieged Sultanpur which was then under the charge of Malik 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab.[4] After the siege had prolonged for seven days 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab's condition became hopeless as no help was forthcoming though during this period he had been offering a strong resistance. Mubarak Khan bin Ahmad Shah, brother of Sultan Muhammad, being displeased with his brother had come to the court of Mahmud Khalji and was accompanying him on this campaign, persuaded 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab to surrender to Mahmud Khalji [5]

1 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 63, says Muhammad Shah died on 20th *Muharram* 855 A.H. 22-2-1451 A.D, *Commissariat*, p. 130, says Muhammad II died on 12th Feb. 1451 A D ; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 168b, gives 853 A H. as the year of invasion but subsequently mentions that while Sultan Mahmud was marching, he received the news of Sultan Muhammad's death.

2 *T A* III, p 331 gives more than one hundred thousand horses, so has *Firishta*, II, p. 492, *Zafar-ul-walih* p 4, one lakh horses and more than 500 elephants

3 So in *T.A.* III, p. 331 (Tr), p 522 also fn. 1; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 169b, has *Kadar Nowali* It seems to be the pass near Newali in the Satpura Range about 11 miles west of Sendhwa

4 *T.A.* III, p. 331; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 69, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 169b, has Malik 'Ala Suhrab, *Zafar-ul-walih* p 4, uses the term *Sultani*

5 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 69, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 169a, Shihab Hakim does not mention the counsel of Mubarak Khan, *T.A* III, p. 332; *Firishta*, II, p 492. (*Continued on next page*)

Sultan Mahmud Khalji welcomed him, but while taking the oath of fidelity to the Sultan, 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab played on the words[1] as he had no intention of remaining loyal to Sultan Mahmud. Though Sultan Mahmud appointed him in the advance guard of his army, he took the precaution of sending the family and children of 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab to Mandu as hostages. The Sultan then further marched on towards Nandarbar and while he was engaged in plundering the place, he received information about the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah Gujarati.

After completion of the condolence observances,[2] Sultan Mahmud marched towards Bharoch (Broach) and encamped at Sarsa Palri.[3] He then tried to acquire Bharoch by means of negotiations and to that end, sent a message to Malik Marjan *Sultani*, the *Havaldar* of the fort, that he should also, like Malik 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab, accept his subordination for which he would also be amply rewarded, and that he should also bring along with him all the important merchants of the place.[4] But Malik Marjan instead of submitting to Mahmud started strengthening the defences of the fort Being disappointed

(*Continued from pre-page*)

Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta following Shihab Hakim, only say that becoming hopeless of receiving any reinforcement he begged for quarter

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 69-70; *T A.* III, p. 332, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 169b

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 170a, *T A* III, p 332, *Firishta*, II, p 492

According to Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din Sultan Mahmud not only held the condolence, but also sent felicitations to Qutb-ud-din on his becoming king, though he did not give up the idea of conquest

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 70

Sarsa Palri was in the Sarkar of Bharoch

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 70, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 170a.

According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud did not go there for conquest but only to pay respects to the tombs of two Saints *Baba* Ghur and *Baba* Habsh

However this visit to the tomb of *Baba* Ghur could not have been without meaning The tomb situated at the summit of the hill of considerable height in Ratanpur (Rajpipla) commanded an extensive prospect over the cornelian mines in the neighbourhood of Broach. It was believed by local miners that the cornelian mines existed under the protection of *Baba* Ghur and to whom the miners recommended themselves for safety before descending into the pits During this period the cornelian industry of Broach was in a flourishing state and hence there were large number of merchants in this town—see, *Commissariat*, pp 268-270.

on this side, Mahmud enquired about the strength of the fort from Malik Suhrab who informed him that it would take about six to seven months to reduce the fort and that too only after great effort.

Sultan Mahmud left Bharoch unsubdued and crossing the river Narbada at Makhdumpur marched towards Baroda,[1] and on reaching the place gave order for its plunder and destruction. In the meantime Sultan Qutb-ud-din had also marched out with his forces and was encamped at Wakaner Khanpur[2] on the bank of the Mahendri At Baroda *Rai* Ganga Das and others joined the camp of Mahmud *Rai* Ganga Das who was well-acquainted with the nature of the river Mahendri, informed him that it would not be possible to cross the river without the help of boats and it would be risky also as Sultan Qutb-ud-din had already stationed himself on the other side[3] Sultan Mahmud, therefore, pushed further north and crossed the river towards Kaparbanj[4] While the Sultan was advancing, Malik 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab and some forces of Malwa were left behind. Malik 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab found his opportunity and crossed the river at Thanesar[5] and joined the camp of Qutb-ud-din. The departure of 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab was the beginning of disaffection in the camp of Sultan Mahmud Khalji 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab who had known everything about the movements of the Malwa army, immediately informed Sultan Qutb-ud-din about Mahmud's attack from the side of Kaparbanj[6] Sultan Qutb-ud-din also raised his camp from

[1] *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 170a-b.

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 71.

[3] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 5; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 77.

Sikandar clearly says that Ganga Das informed Mahmud that the ferry (*ghat*) at Khanpur was under the control of the enemy and if the Sultan pleases they should cross the river at Entari 'Itadi) *ghat* in the Balasinor *pargana*

[4] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 5, has Kabirbanj (Kapadvanj, about 33 miles east of Ahmedabad. *Bom. Gaze*, III, pp. 191-2.)

[5] *Ibid*, p 5, *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 170b. Shihab Hakim only says that 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab deserted the camp of Mahmud at Baroda and joined Qutb-ud-din; *Firishta*, II, p 492. According to Firishta, 'Ala-ud-din Suhrab left from Sarkaj (Sarkhej) which is 5 *karoh* from Ahmedabad.

[6] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 5, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 77.

Kaparbanj is the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the district of Kaira (Kheda)

Wakaner Khanpur and marched towards Kaparbanj and pitched his tents at Khanpur at a distance of three *karoh* from Kaparbanj as the latter had already been occupied by Sultan Mahmud.

THE BATTLE OF KAPARBANJ

After remaining encamped for a few days, Mahmud Khalji made a night attack on the last day of *Safar*. But the guides lost their way and Mahmud remained on horse-back throughout the night moving from place to place[2] but could not succeed in reaching the camp of Qutb-ud-din. In the morning he returned to his camp and arranged his army in battle array. On the right (*maimana*) the Sarangpur army was placed under the command of his eldest son Ghiyath-ud-din, on the left (*maisara*) he placed the Chanderi army under the command of Fidan Khan, his second son. The *Qalb* or the centre he kept under his personal command. The advance (*saqah*) was also arranged in good order.[3]

Sultan Qutb-ud-din also arranged his army almost in the same conventional pattern. The right with a number of elephants was placed under Dilawar Khan, the left was given to the command of Malik Nizam *Mukhlis-ul-Mulk*, and the centre he kept under his own command but with greater strength as it included *Khan-i-Jahan* Malik Munir Wazir, Mitha Khan *ibn* Muzaffar Shah, Zia-ul-mulk, Tughan Shah Khatri, Sikandar Khan *ibn* Sultan Muhammad, Malik Halim A'zam Khan and

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 171a, Mahmud Shah reached Kaparbanj first, *TA* III, p 332, Mahmud Shah reached Kaparbanj earlier, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 9, also says Mahmud Shah reached earlier, *Mir at-i-Sikandari*, p 77 fn 3, Sultan Qutb-ud-din pitched his tents in the *qasba* of Kaparbanj (Kabirbanj) before the arrival of Mahmud Khalji who had to pitch his tents at three *karoh* from the other side of Kaparbanj.

[2] This night attack of Mahmud and his failure to reach the camp of Qutb-ud-din has been described differently: *Firishta*, II, p 492; *TA* III, p 333, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 77-78, has the guides or scouts lost their way, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 9, mentions the night attack but says after the war had continued for a few days Mahmud made the night attack, but the guides lost their way because of strong wind; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 171a & b, mentions the night attack but assigns extreme darkness as the cause which scattered the army who lost the way.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 171b

Qadar Khan The direction of the advance he left in the hands of Dilawar Khan.[1]

The first charge of the battle was made by Muzaffar Khan of Chanderi who was in the left wing of the Malwa army He made such a fierce charge that right wing of the Gujarat army was repulsed and Muzaffar Khan pushed the Gujarati army up to its centre He took possession of the booty.[2] While he was returning with the booty he was attacked by *Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk*, the commander of the right wing, and in the engagement he was dismounted and was killed on the battle-field.[3] This death and defeat of the left wing proved a turning point in the tide of the battle Muzaffar certainly was a brave soldier and a daring commander The statement of Sikandar that Muzaffar was the root of this rebellion[4] is only an expression for the important part that was being played by him.

The Gujarati forces then attacked the centre of the Malwa army which was under the command of Sultan Mahmud himself

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 78 says, the direction of the advance was left to Dilawar Khan; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 10, has slightly different names in the arrangement. According to Haji-ud-Dabir "He placed in the advance of the army Mahta Khan *bin* Sultan Muzaffar, Sikandar Khan who was a maternal uncle of his father Muhammad Shah *Iftikhar-ul-Mulk* Tughan Khatri, *Khar-i-Jahan*, Munir *Sultani*, A'zam Khan *Sultani* Qadar Khan, *'Ala-ul-Mulk*, Ulugh Khan Suhrab *Sultani* On the right he appointed *Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk Sultani* and Dilawar Khan *Sultani* and in the left Nizam-ud-din *Mukhtas-ul-Mulk*.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 173a says, Muzaffar found the enemy camp full of jewels and precious articles without any guard. He also met the *palki* of Qutb-ud-din's mother who was going to Ahmedabad and while he allowed the *palki* to advance he secured a good deal of treasure and loaded it on elephants, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 10; *T A* III, p 333 Nizam-ud-Din says that the first instalment of treasure was sent and then the elephants returned and when the next instalment was to go, the left wing under Fiden Khan was attacked and dispersed but Muzaffar kept himself in a corner, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 79. Sikandar does not give the details of the incident, *Firishta*, II, p 493, agrees with Nizam-ud-Din

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 173a says, he was killed on the battle-field but *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 80 says, he was beheaded and his head was suspended on the gate of Kaparbanj on Friday 1st *Safar* 855 A H which obviously is wrong because Mahmud had made the night attack on the last day of *Safar* and the battle was fought afterwards; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 10 says, he was executed after the war was over

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 80, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 10, has also the same expression

But in spite of the best efforts, the arrangement could not be retained and in confusion the soldiers got scattered and fled

While Sultan Mahmud was attempting to reassemble his scattered forces, treachery appeared in his camp *Mushir-ul-Mulk* who had been given the title of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* and had been entrusted with the *wizarat* and had always received favours from the Sultan, connived with the Gujarati Sultan and immediately informed him about the confusion and weakness that had appeared at the centre, and also informed him that he had withdrawn his hand.[1] This treachery greatly weakened the position of the Sultan, because Qutb-ud-din who was hiding in ambush immediately made a charge and caused great damage to the centre Sultan Mahmud, with great bravery and skill in archery, began to fight and when he was left with only twenty-two soldiers, he began to withdraw towards his camp. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* caused further confusion by circulating the false rumour that the Sultan was dead and diverted the reinforcements that were coming to the aid of the Sutlan. Sultan Mahmud, however, with these twenty-two soldiers slowly recovered ground and when he reached his tent he was left with only thirteen soldiers [2] The day was lost to Malwa [3] Thus one more attempt on the part of the Malwa Sultan to avenge the imprisonment of Hoshang Shah failed. The treachery of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* at this critical hour certainly was a great blow to Sultan Mahmud *Nizam-ul-Mulk* was holding the key position as "*Muntajib*" and he not only informed the enemy of the weakness, but also refrained from giving any help to the king by his orders Besides, in the middle of the battle, he withdrew with the forces that were under his command

Sultan Mahmud wanted to reassemble his army and make a fresh attempt next day, but he was advised by Ismā'il Khan to desist from such a course of action and consoled the Sultan by saying that he had actually gained a victory because a section of the Malwa army had already defeated a section of the Gujarat army and had pursued them for a distance and had secured immense booty.[4]

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 173b, 174a
2 *Ibid*, fols 174b & 175a.
3 *Firishta*, II, p 493, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p 138
4 *Firishta*, II, p. 493. Firishta says that during this battle Mahmud with

(*Continued on next page*)

The court historian, Shihab Hakim, while he does not assign any definite cause for the defeat, lays great stress on the treachery of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*. Thus, according to the Malwa version, the defeat was not because of the bravery of Gujarat forces but because of treachery in the Malwa camp This seems to be true because the historians from the Gujarat side do not pay any tribute to the bravery of Sultan Qutb-ud-din, rather they paint him as vacillating and cowardly, and the victory they assign entirely to the blessings of *Shaikh Baba Shah 'Alam*.[1]

RAID INTO SURAT AND RANER

After his return from Gujarat, Sultan Mahmud seems to have suffered from mental agony at this defeat. To retrieve his prestige he deputed *Shahzada* Ghiyath Shah to raid the town of Surat, which was an important port of Gujarat on the river Tapti. Ghiyath Shah raided the suburbs of Surat, plundered and ravaged them and returned to Shadiabad with some booty. The account of this raid of Ghiyath Shah into Surat is variously given by the historians. Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, while

{*Continued from pre-page*}

his thirteen soldiers entered the royal tent and carried away the crown and the royal belt of the Gujarati Sultan as his trophy

Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi, Add 26279, fols 41b-42b It also mentions that the belt with scabbard was found by Khalji which was lost by Qutb-ud-din when the latter was overthrown from his horse

Shihab Hakim does not mention it.

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 73-77; *Zafar-ul-walih*, pp 8-9.

The story of the talk between *Shah* 'Alam and *Shaikh* Kamal indicates that during this period the holy men of Gujarat exercised great political power. It also reveals that during this period there were two rival groups One, headed by *Qutb-ul-Aqtab Shaikh* Burhan-ud-din, was having ascendancy and therefore tried to sustain the reigning dynasty The other, headed by *Shaikh* Kamal, was rival of this group and wanted to gain ascendancy by favouring Mahmud Khalji of Malwa The death of *Shaikh* Kamal though mentioned as an outcome of supernatural force might have been in all probability an outcome of violence The death of *Shaikh* Kamal might have liquidated the opposition group and may also have subscribed towards the defeat of Mahmud Khalji

For the influence of the *Mashaikh* in Gujarat, Sikandar has referred to an incident, that when Mahmud Khalji looked at the accounts from the disaffected Hindu writers of the reign of Muhammad Shah II and found that two parts of the revenue comprised the *jagir* of the soldiers and *Khalasa* and one part in charitable endowments, he observed that conquest of Gujarat was a difficult task because its army of the day is well organised and so is its army of the night. Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 81

dealing with the history of Malwa mention[1] it, but in the sections on Gujarat omit the incident It is also not mentioned in *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* The contemporary historian Shihab Hakim has mentioned it and it is quite likely that Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta both of whom used *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* as their source for Malwa section have mentioned it, but for the Gujarat section they used Gujarat histories where it is not mentioned and, therefore, they have left it out in that section of their history.[2]

Though Shihab Hakim has devoted quite a number of pages to this raid[3] the actual information given is very little and can be summarised as follows. After his return, Sultan Mahmud received information through his informers that the *Rayan* of Surat and Raner[4] had plundered the caravan of a number of Muslim traders coming from Surat. To punish those people he deputed *Shahzada* Ghiyath Shah to raid the territory. The

1 *T A* III, p 334, *Firishta*, II, p 494

2 *Briggs*, IV, p. 218, says that "Gheias-odd-deen, with the right wing of the army, fled to Surat, where he plundered the country."

Thus Briggs suggests it as only a part of Mahmud's invasion of Gujarat and the raid following the defeat of Mahmud

G.H.I III, p 302, says that Ghiyas-ud-din who had raided Surat, retired hurriedly on hearing Qutb-ud-din's return.

Delhi Sultanate, (Vidya Bhawan), p 178, only says "Later, he sent his son Ghiyas-ud-din to raid Surat."

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 176a, 178b

4 Raner (Rander) situated on the north bank of the river Tapti was the principal commercial centre south of Broach till 1530 A D. when it was raided and burnt by Antonio da Silveira the Portuguese Captain. Raner never recovered from this blow It was a very ancient town but from 1225 A D Arab immigrants from Kufa, who were *Shia* Muslims, had occupied it after over-powering the Jain population of the town, and subsequently became its ruler. Being active and enterprising navigators, they became, in course of time, very wealthy and successful merchants trading in their own well-equipped ships with Malacca, China, Tenasarim, Pegu and Sumatra in spices, musk, silk, porcelain and other commodities.

Surat, on the south bank of the Tapti estuary, though inferior to Raner, was also an important port and of considerable commercial importance It had a mixed population but the Hindus were in majority. According to Barbosa it was one of the major sea-ports of Gujarat and the custom-house yielded a great sum of money to the king of Cambay (Gujarat). Though Surat like Raner was also raided and burnt by Antonio da Silveira in 1530 A D, but unlike Raner it soon recovered from the shock and subsequently became the chief sea-port of Gujarat.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I, pp 145 fn 1, 146, 148, 150

Shahzada crossed the Tapti in the vicinity of Thalner, and marched straight towards Surat He then plundered the countryside of Surat, where quite a number of *Rayan* submitted to him. After plundering the countryside Ghiyath Shah returned to Shadiabad with the booty From this account it is obvious that it was merely a plundering raid undertaken to enrich the state coffers.

TREATY WITH GUJARAT

The victory of Gujarat convinced Sultan Mahmud of the superiority of the Gujarat arms, but as a shrewd statesman and diplomat what he failed to achieve by conquest, he wanted to compensate for by diplomacy Right from the beginning of his reign he had realised that Gujarat was a great menace to his ambitious designs of territorial aggrandisement[1] This menace he first attempted to remove by military exploit which having failed, he now thought of achieving it by means of establishing friendly relations with some understanding so as to avoid any possible clash. But as a diplomat he knew the contemporary mental make-up and knew fully that the language which was more intelligible was one of force. Therefore, he first took up his seat in Bankher[2] near Dhar, and keeping his intention secret,[3] he gave order to Taj Khan on 6th *Zilhujja* 855 A.H /30-12-1451 A.D to move to the borders of Gujarat upto Sartaba with a well-equipped army[4] Thus outwardly it would appear that he was intending to invade Gujarat and had for that purpose moved his forces It seems that he wanted to use pressure tactics and expected that all such sections of the Gujarat people who did not want war within their territory would immediately mediate[5] and thus negotiations would become easy. So far as the mediation is concerned he was fully conscious of it because on the previous occasion too some talk for peaceful settlement was started at the initial stage to avoid clash.

When Taj Khan reached Sartaba and the news of his movement became known to Sultan Qutb-ud-din it became a matter of anxiety to him.[6] Nizam-ud-Din, Firishta and Sikandar all

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 111b

[2] *Ibid*, fol. 180b It is actually Bakaner 30 miles South of Dhar

[3] *TA* III, p. 335.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 180b, 181a; *TA* III, p 335

[5] *TA*. III, p 131

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 181a

the three mention that the initiative for the treaty was taken by Sultan Mahmud. But Shihab Hakim clearly says that Qutb-ud-din, after consultation with his ministers, sent a messenger to Taj Khan The real position seems to be that Sultan Mahmud had deputed Taj Khan to find out the possibilities of a treaty and the attitude of Sultan Qutb-ud-din Taj Khan found from the messenger that the Gujarat Sultan was in no mood for war and, therefore, the possibilities of the treaty were bright. Having ascertained this, he sent the messenger to Sultan Mahmud with a request that if he found it proper he would depute some nobles to meet at some place and negotiate the terms of the treaty Sultan Mahmud who really wanted a treaty with Gujarat deputed (*i*) *Qazi-ul-Qazat Sadr-i-Jahan Shaikh-ul-Islam Shaikh* Mahmud, (*ii*) *Qazi* Daniyal (*iii*) Malik Lala the physician, who were the main pillars of State,[1] to proceed and negotiate. They proceeded to Champaner where they found *Qazi* Husam-ud-din and Harhar Brahmin (*Zunnardar*) from Ahmedabad waiting for them. When the negotiations started, the Malwa envoys stressed the religious point that Muslim rulers should not fight with each other, they also stressed that though Gujarat had been victorious in the recent battle, it did not mean that Malwa had become weak,[2] and also recounted the names of great warriors in the Malwa army. They also stressed that Sultan Ahmad Shah and Sultan Muhammad had tried their best against Mahmud but had gained nothing.[3] They then pointed out that because of the war between the two Muslim rulers, the Hindus were benefited and they were carrying Muslim men and women as prisoners They suggested that if the two kingdoms do not fight against each other, they might easily succeed in wiping out all the places of '*Kufr*' and '*Shirk*' and thereby establish the light of Islam on all the lands[4] and for this purpose both should respect the territorial boundaries of each other and continue exchanging presents[5] which would keep them in touch with each other.

Qazi Husam-ud-din accepted all these terms and after

[1] *Ma athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 181a; *T.A* III. p 131 has, *Shaikh* Nizam-ud-din and *Sadar-i-Jahan* from Malwa side and *Qazi* Husam-ud-din and some others from Gujarat side

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 182a [3] *Ibid*.,

[4] *Ibid*, fol. 183a [5] *Ibid*, fol 183a

getting permission from Sultan Qutb-ud-din, the treaty was finally concluded on these terms : that (*i*) In the territories of Kumbha, Malwa would take Ajmer, Mewar, Nagaur and other places adjacent to the country, (*ii*) On the other side Gujarat would send expeditions[1] when needed

The treaty was concluded with the signatures of Sultan Qutb-ud-din and other witnesses After completion of the treaty Qazi Husam-ud-din returned to Ahmedabad and *Shaikh-ul-Islam* with other leaders returned to the camp of Sultan Mahmud who being satisfied returned to Shadiabad by the end of the year 855 A H [2] January, 1452 A.D

This treaty with Gujarat is a landmark in the history of Malwa and Gujarat The hostility that had started almost with the foundation of the two kingdoms ended in friendly relations It proved helpful to both Sultan Mahmud Khalji and Sultan Qutb-ud-din and Mahmud Begada of Gujarat. It gave Mahmud a free hand to deal with the Rajput power of Mewar and also to subdue the petty Rajput chiefs of Harauti, Khichiwara etc It also left the Gujarat Sultan free from the fear that the Malwa Sultan would take up the cause of disaffected Rajput chiefs of Gujarat But the treaty, because of a religious colouring, failed to serve the purpose of Mahmud Khalji, who wanted to be free from Gujarat intervention in his scheme of territorial aggrandisement Twice he attempted, after the conclusion of the treaty, to conquer some land from the Bahmani kingdom and on both the occasions it was the Gujarat Sultan who moved to the help of the Bahmani Sultan and neutralised the effect of Mahmud's move So far as Mahmud Begada was concerned he respected the boundary of Malwa and did not enter Malwa territory, but the other cause that they should combine against a *kafir*, a Hindu, and that war between Muslims was not permitted, gave

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 183a. 183b

از جانبین سخن برین جمله قرار گرفت که آن مقدار زمین از ولایت میوار و اجمیر و ناگور و انچه در تصرف کونبها باشد شما عنقاً و قهراً بگیرید و ار آن طرف انچه ما قابض نوانیم شد داخل ما باشد

[2] *Firishta*, II p 401 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 183b

Mahmud Begada freedom to go to the help of a fellow Muslim ruler against another Muslim ruler who was an aggressor.[1] Thus a treaty concluded with a religious colouring and with a motive to combine against Hindu Rajput power, proved a hindrance where matters purely political and diplomatic were concerned

(B) RELATIONS WITH JAUNPUR AND SETTLEMENT OF KALPI AFFAIR

We have already noticed[2] that the principality of Kalpi was a bone of contention between Hoshang Shah and Ibrahim Shah Sharqi and also that it was because of the hostility that existed between Ibrahim Shah Sharqi and Mubarak Shah Saiyid that the former could not be very effective in Kalpi and thus allowed Hoshang Shah to establish his suzerainty over it. The accession of Mahmud Khalji in Malwa was followed after a few months by the accession of his name-sake in Jaunpur.[3] In the meantime the *Malikzada* family of Kalpi, hard-pressed as it always was by the Chauhans of the Doab round about Etawa, was further weakened by internal family dissensions After the death of Hoshang Shah, Mubarak Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan assumed independence in Erachh[4] and Isma'il Khan *ibn* Nizam Khan in Jatahara. Thus a process of disintegration set in to which Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* added his share by occupying Rath and Mahoba[5] That the kingdom of Kalpi escaped complete dissolution was only because the rulers of Jaunpur and Dehli were involved elsewhere, and the kingdom of Malwa was passing through equally troubled times following the death of Hoshang Shah and accession of Muhammad Ghuri and then again the accession of Mahmud Khalji Jalal Khan had remained contented within the reduced jurisdiction of Muhammadabad Kalpi. Mahmud Khalji who was busy in suppressing rebellions and consolidating his position in the kingdom, could not pay any

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p 140 According to Nihawandi, Mahmud Begada stressed the point of maintaining peace between the Muslim kingdoms and even threatened Mahmud Khalji to invade Malwa if he violated the principle

[2] Vide, Chapter II.

[3] Ibrahim Sharqi died in 840 A.H /1436-37 A.D Vide, *Firishta*, II, p 595, *T.A* III, p 278

[4] *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, fol 458b.

[5] *Ibid.*,

attention towards the affairs of Kalpi.[1] Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* who had been patiently waiting in Mahoba and Rath, finally succeeded to the *masnad* of Kalpi after the death of Jalal Khan sometime in 846 A.H. A.D 1442-43 But such persons who had become independent, and whom Nasir Khan after his accession was trying to subjugate, wanted to overthrow him by bringing him into disgrace before more powerful rulers and inviting them for his destruction For this purpose they gave a religious colour and charged Nasir Khan of anti-Islamic activities in his territory. That it was only the propaganda of the malefactors is best established by the fact that Nasir Khan boldly challenged the truth of the allegations.[2]

Whatever might have been the truth behind the allegation, Mahmud Khalji and Mahmud Sharqi both wanted to make use of it. Mahmud Sharqi, finding that Mahmud Khalji was interested in another direction, thought of occupying Kalpi But Mahmud Sharqi was conscious that because Kalpi had once owed allegiance to Malwa during the reign of Hoshang Shah his movement in that direction might be resented by Mahmud Khalji who was by then quite powerful in Malwa He, therefore, thought of seeking a formal approval of his proposed action from Mahmud Khalji

Thus we find that among the ambassadors of the various courts that had come to felicitate Mahmud Khalji after his return from Dehli, there was the envoy of Mahmud Sharqi also, who had come with rich presents from his king.[3] At the end of the first ten days of *Muharram* (of 846 A.H. May, 1442 A.D.) the envoy of Jaunpur presented himself in the court and delivered the presents of the Sharqi Sultan which he had brought. Mahmud Khalji also in return gave him presents in cash and robes and horses decorated with ornaments. The envoy then requested the Sultan for a private audience where he could speak to him in confidence. Mahmud agreed to the request and summoned

[1] Jalal Khan assumed the title of Fath-ud-din Jalal Shah and started striking coins in his own name after the death of Ibrahim Sharqi Vide, *Wright*, II, p 262. The date on the coin bears 841

[2] *T. A.* III, p. 323. Nizam-ud-Din says that 'news was brought to Sultan Mahmud Khalji of the arrogance of Nasir *bin* 'Abdul Qadir the governor of Kalpi who had assumed the title of Nasir Shah and had declared his independence

[3] *Ibid*, III, p 324

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 117a

him to his special private and friendly gathering[1] According to Shihab Hakim, the envoy of Jaunpur in the private meeting gave the message of Mahmud Sharqi that Nasir *ibn* Abdul Qadir, the chief of Kalpi, had deviated from the path of *Shari'at* and had left the tenets of Islam and had begun to shed blood and destroy mosques, that he had destroyed Mahoba which was a place of *Ulama* and *Mashaikh*, and had turned schools and mosques into dwelling places for swine and dogs and had given the daughters of the Muslims, to Bana Kamal, the *muqaddam* of Mandal who had employed them in singing and dancing, and had thus deviated them from the right path, and also that he had destroyed *Qasba* Shahupur which was more prosperous than Kalpi, and had imprisoned and tortured the Muslims of that place, having given away their women to strangers; that he had closed the routes for travellers and had closed to them the door of peace, that he had also totally given up *roza* and *namaz*.[2] Having made the charges against Nasir, the message conveyed that the several warnings given by the Sharqi Sultan were not taken notice of by him (Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan*). The message further conveyed that because Nasir and his family were under the protection of the Malwa ruler from the time of Hoshang Shah, therefore the Sharqi monarch was unable to punish him, as such an act would be against the bonds of friendship between the monarchs. The Sharqi Sultan then requested Mahmud Khalji to ask Nasir to end the bad ways, and if the latter even then refused to mend, to punish him, so that it may serve as a lesson to others The last portion of the message expressed that if Mahmud Khalji was not free from administrative affairs and if his army was engaged, he should permit the Sharqi Sultan to put an end to all this evil (*fitna*).[3]

[1] Nizam-ud-Din has given two dates for this message, in the Malwa section he mentions 849 A H (Tr p. 515) but in the Jaunpur section 847 A H (Tr p 453)

Firishta, II, pp 488, 489, has 847 A H (*Briggs*, IV, p 210 has 1444 A.D.) Against these Shihab Hakim clearly mentions that the envoy delivered the message before Mahmud Khalji left for the Mewar expedition on 26th *Rajab* 846 A H Shihab Hakim also says that envoys were received in the court after 10 days of *Muharram* had passed. *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 117a.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 117a, 117b, *Firishta*, II, p 489.

Firishta has summarised Shihab Hakim

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 117b, 118a

Critically viewed, this message of Mahmud Sharqi was intended in the first place to get the tacit approval of Mahmud Khalji for interfering in the affairs of Kalpi, and in the second place to find out Mahmud Khalji's attitude towards that principality. Mahmud Sharqi gave it a religious colour only to cover up his political ambitions, because so far as the charges are concerned, had there been any truth in them, there should have been an internal revolt. There was a faction in Kalpi that was against Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* and they must have spread this rumour only to disguise their opposition Besides, later on, Shihab Hakim recounts similar charges against Mahmud Sharqi when the latter had occupied Kalpi

According to Shihab Hakim, because the request of Mahmud Sharqi was based on genuine religious feelings, Mahmud Khalji decided that though Nasir was under Malwa protection yet as he had committed these crimes, it was wrong to protect him. The Sultan then conveyed to the messenger in the same meeting that as he was engaged against the '*Kafirs*' of Mewar and his army had no time, Mahmud Sharqi should warn Nasir, so that he should come back on the right path. The Jaunpur envoy was very happy as he got what he wanted and left for Jaunpur [1]

Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji indirectly gave his consent to Mahmud Sharqi to tackle the Kalpi problem, but this permission was neither official in character nor was it openly given It is more likely that Mahmud had been thinking about the independent attitude of Nasir and wanted to teach him a lesson. Mahmud wanted to make him realise that his safety lay in accepting the suzerainty of Malwa. Besides, it is also possible that at a time when he was making preparations for the invasion of Mewar, he did not want to embroil himself with Jaunpur. Thus by his indirect permission he thought of diplomatically solving the Kalpi problem. Mahmud gave permission for warning only which left the matter open to him so that at any stage if he found Jaunpur too aggressive he could interfere in the Kalpi affair.

When Mahmud Khalji started for Mewar, he kept his

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 118a

Nizam-ud-Din says that Mahmud Sharqi was very happy and sent 20 elephants as presents (*T A* III, p. 279) (20 elephants in Malwa section—*T.A.* III, p. 327) But Shihab Hakim says that 20 elephants were received from the *Damgah* of Sultan Mahmud Khalji

intention secret and openly declared that he was marching to Kalpi for punishing Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan*.[1] The news alarmed Nasir Khan and he immediately sent his uncle 'Ali Khan with presents of various kinds and tribute to Shadiabad

During the period of Mahmud Khalji's absence from Malwa, when he was engaged in the Mewar expedition, Mahmud Sharqi, taking advantage of the tacit approval of Mahmud Khalji to punish Nasir, had occupied Kalpi and many of its important *Qasbas*. After the return of Mahmud Khalji, Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* appealed to him and again sent 'Ali Khan [2] Mahmud Khalji was then contemplating the reduction of Harauti and Kheechiwara, and before actually taking up arms against Mahmud Sharqi, he thought it worthwhile to appeal to the feelings of friendship and request him to reinstate Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* In his previous talk, he had only agreed to the punishment of Nasir and not to his removal; besides, Nasir had already given up all pretentions to independence and had submitted to him with proper respect and fitting tributes Mahmud Khalji therefore sent a letter[3] through 'Ali Khan the purport of which has been given by Shihab Hakim which may be summarised as "That *Khan-i-Jahan* son of Qadir Shah has repented and has taken the path of Islam so he should be restored at Kalpi which had been in his possession through his forefathers It is known to every one that he and his forefathers were under our protection and it is against the laws of generosity and love that we should leave a person who has repented Thanks to God that he is making every effort to establish *roza* and *namaz*[4] He is also protecting the roads from thieves and robbers and treating people with kindness and generosity, so it would be better if you restore him. The Sultan will be thankful, rather take it as a kindness on your part. But if any inordinate delay in carrying out the right act takes place, I will have to take action to restore the rightful man to the right place, with *salams* to those who follow the right path."[5]

Thus we find that in this letter Mahmud Khalji not only requested and stressed for the restoration of Kalpi to Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan*, but also sent a sort of hidden threat

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 128a
[2] *Ibid* fol 132b
[3] *Ibid*, fol 132b, *Firishta*, II, p 489
[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 133a
[5] *Ibid*,

After despatching the letter through 'Ali Khan, Mahmud Khalji took up the work of the reduction of Gagraun and Mandalgarh and Harauti and remained engaged for a few months there Mahmud Sharqi who was now occupying Kalpi was in no mood to return the territory to Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan*, rather, he tightened his grip over the place and started punishing all those who were partisans of Nasir, and drove them out of the territory Shihab Hakim, the contemporary historian, blames Mahmud Sharqi of high-handedness and says that on the occupation of Kalpi on 2nd *Sha'ban* (6-12-1442 A.D), Mahmud Sharqi brought destruction to the place and gave away Muslim women to the Hindus such as *muqaddams* of Khora[1] and Bagesar, who had helped him in the occupation of Kalpi

Nasir Khan and his followers after being driven out, took shelter in Chanderi and from there Nasir appealed again to Sultan Mahmud According to Shihab Hakim the purport of the appeal was that "this humble slave of yours and his forefathers had been under the protection of Malwa from the time of Hoshang Shah and now, the aggressors have occupied our territory; we hope from your boundless kindness to be protected and restored to our former possessions At present we are destitutes and hope that your kindness will be enough for us "[2]

It seems that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi had also sent some reply to Mahmud Khalji, because we are told by Shihab Hakim that when Mahmud Khalji received this petition from Nasir, he kept the Jaunpur envoys waiting at Ujjain and himself[3] marched towards Chanderi on 2nd *Sha'ban* 848 A.H /14-11-1444 A.D. It is obvious that Mahmud Khalji was convinced that Mahmud Sharqi would not evacuate Kalpi unless he was forced to do so. Thus the war with Jaunpur ensued.

WAR WITH JAUNPUR

From Chanderi Mahmud Khalji marched towards Erachh and Bhander[4] Mahmud Sharqi also marched out and arrived at Erachh ahead of Mahmud Khalji, but on receiving the news that Mahmud Khalji was marching to Erachh, he evacuated the place and took up his position in the hilly regions leaving behind

1 Khora-Koda, 25 miles south of Kanpur
2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 145a
3 *Ibid*, fol. 145b, *Firishta*, II, p. 597.
4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 146a, *Firishta*, II, p. 597

Mubarak Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan[1] and Jughlati, the adopted son of Qadir Shah, for the protection of Erachh

Mahmud Sharqi then took up his position in the centre of hilly region which was a naturally protected place being very dark and narrow and difficult of access.[2] Mahmud Khalji realised the difficulty of the position where he could effectively bring into action only a portion of his army and, therefore, marched straight to Kalpi and pitched his tents in *Qasba* Chakni at a distance of four *karoh* from Kalpi.[3] Mahmud Sharqi, having failed in his stratagem, marched by another route towards Kalpi to close the road to Kalpi before the arrival of Khalji Sultan there, and took up a position at a place which was closed on three sides and had access only from one side On the route, the *Yazaks* (Advance) of the two *Qalbs* met and fought an engagement. The Malwa contingent was victorious and a good deal of provisions and animals etc. fell into their hands. At this stage Mahmud Sharqi came out of his place with his elephants and attacked the *Yazak* of Malwa forces, but after a whole day's fighting could not dislodge it from its position.[4]

Next day Mahmud Khalji appointed *'Imad-ul-Mulk* and Mubarak Ahmad who had the title of *Fatah-ul-Mulk*, with the Sarangpur contingent at the entrance of the shelter of Mahmud Sharqi, but the Sharqi monarch did not leave his shelter.[5] *'Imad-ul-Mulk* after some time returned to the royal camp and then Mahmud Sharqi came out and attacked the Malwa forces that were left to guard the opening. Again the battle continued for the whole day without yielding any result. Next day Mahmud Khalji sent some persons to entice Mahmud Sharqi to come out of his shelter by means of showering abuses etc. on the Sharqis, but the attempt failed to bring him out.[6] Finding that Mahmud Sharqi was not coming out in the open and thus avoiding a pitched battle, Mahmud Khalji plundered a few villages of Kalpi, and imprisoned quite a number of persons As the rainy season was approaching he returned towards

[1] Mubarak Khan *ibn* Junaid Khan, as pointed out earlier, had declared his independence at Erachh, and therefore, it seems that now he had accepted allegiance to Mahmud Sharqi It being his own territory Mahmud Sharqi might have considered him best fitted to defend it

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 146a.

[3] *Ibid*, fol 146b

[4] *Ibid*, fol 147a

[5] *Ibid*, fol 147b

[6] *Ibid*, fol 148a

Shadiabad,[1] but halted at Fathabad[2] towards Chanderi and built a number of buildings there.

Mahmud Sharqi had left Mubarak Khan at Erachh, but some persons who were dissatisfied with him complained about his high-handedness to Mahmud Khalji who was then at Fathabad. Mahmud Khalji sent *Malik-ush-Sharq* Muzaffar Ibrahim,[3] and *Mansur-ul-Mulk* with a large army towards Erachh. When Muzaffar Ibrahim arrived in the neighbourhood of Erachh and was engaged in plundering *Chaumuha* and *Hawali*, news came to him that Mahmud Sharqi had appointed Malik Kalu with a big army which had come to the *Qasba* of Rath.[4] Muzaffar Ibrahim held a council and it was decided that capture of Erachh would take time and therefore they should first meet Malik Kalu. Muzaffar Ibrahim then marched towards Rath and reaching there during the night besieged it from all sides. Malik Kalu could not stand before Muzaffar Ibrahim to maintain his ground and fled. Muzaffar Ibrahim took possession of the fort and while some people fled to distant corners, a large number of persons submitted to him. Muzaffar Ibrahim seized all of them. While Nizam-ud-Din does not mention the reason for Muzaffar Ibrahim's seizing these people and Firishta keeps silent about it, Shihab Hakim clearly mentions the reason. He says that these people had been earlier on the side of Malwa, but later had gone over to the side of Jaunpur, and, therefore, to teach them a lesson he seized them and sent all of them to Chanderi. After occupying Rath, Muzaffar Ibrahim turned towards Erachh, but on his way he learnt that Mahmud Sharqi had crossed the Betwa river and was marching towards the territory of Parhar. The *Rai* of Parhar had been always faithful to Mahmud Khalji; therefore, to save him, was considered by Muzaffar Ibrahim as his first duty and he advanced towards the Sharqi army. Mahmud Sharqi, hearing this news, turned towards Rath, but he did not find it safe to face the Malwa army and again occupied the same safe place which he had occupied on the previous occasion. When Mahmud Khalji received information of these activities he sent Ghiyath Shah with fifty-two elephants to strengthen the forces of Muzaffar Ibrahim

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 148b [2] *Ibid*, fol 149b

[3] *Ibid*, fol. 150b, *TA* III, p 328, (Tr) p 518 Nizam-ud-Din calls him governor of Chanderi and does not mention *Mansur-ul-Mulk*

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 150b, *TA* III, p 328; *Firishta*, II, p 490

Thus hard pressed Mahmud Sharqi asked Sayid Ajmal[1] who was a *wazir* and *Sadr-i-Istisharat* (President of the Council) to write a letter to *Mian* Chain Laddah,[2] who was one of the great and holy men of the age and towards whom Sultan Mahmud Khalji had relations of reverence and faith,[3] to intervene The purport of the letter of Mahmud Sharqi as given by Shihab Hakim is "Praise be to God that both the sides are distinguished and exceptional in religion and trustworthiness, and it could not be hidden from you that this conflict is causing harm and dividing every person high and low It is better that on the order 'Peace is better' you should find out a way to bring peace to the Islamic territories and to end this disorder An intelligent trustworthy man may be sent to this side to find out ways and means by which peace may be restored and the past love and effect may be re-established."[4]

Sultan Mahmud Khalji asked *Shaikh-ul-Islam* to depute two trustworthy men To these persons Sultan Mahmud Sharqi offered the following terms that Mahoba and Rath[5] would be ceded to Malwa, and Erachh, and Kalpi should remain with them, and after four months of the withdrawal of both the parties it would be given up, because it would be very insulting for the Sharqi ruler to give it up at that very moment.[6] The terms of the treaty as offered by Mahmud Sharqi clearly indicate that though he was hard-pressed he knew that Mahmud Khalji too would not like to remain involved for a long period on

1 Nizam-ud-Din in the Malwa section indicates that the initiative was taken by *Shaikh* Jamaldah and he sent the letter to Mahmud Khalji with the concurrence of Mahmud Sharqi but in the Jaunpur section mentions that Mahmud Sharqi requested the *Shaikh* through a letter to intervene. Shihab Hakim mentions the name of the person who was asked to write the letter to the *Shaikh*; *Firishta*, II, p 597 also mentions the initiative being taken by Mahmud Sharqi

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 152a

3 *T A* III, p 282, (Tr) p 456

Shihab Hakim clearly mentions that *Mian* Chain Laddah was holding the post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* He is also mentioned in *Gulzar-i-Abrar* as *Shaikh-ul-Islam*.

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 152b

5 Rath is about 30 miles north-west of Mahoba and 84 miles due east of Jhansi-Orchha

6 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 152b, *Firishta*, II, p 490 Firishta says that during this period of four months the conduct of Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* would be observed

this front and might agree to the terms. He therefore while offering terms of peace, kept the advantages on his side.

Because the terms were rather one-sided, Mahmud Khalji rejected them and insisted that unless Kalpi, which was the real territory of contention, was restored, no peace was possible. But Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan*, who was living as a refugee in Malwa, felt that rejection of the terms of peace would prolong the war and would thereby deprive him of immediate occupation of even this small territory of Mahoba and Rath, appealed along with Isma'il Khan[1] to Sultan Mahmud Khalji that as Mahmud Sharqi had agreed to restore Kalpi in the presence of so many eminent persons after four months, it would be better to accept the terms as it would provide him some means of livelihood.[2] When Sultan Mahmud found that the man most concerned was agreeable to the terms, he also agreed and asked the men to make arrangement for the implementation of the terms.

While the men were on their way, news was received that Mahmud Sharqi was marching towards Parhar. As the territory of Jatahara was adjacent, there was danger to that territory also. Mahmud Khalji ordered that a force should immediately be sent to that direction and he himself followed the contingent. When Mahmud Sharqi learnt of this movement of Mahmud Khalji, he immediately re-crossed the Betwa and took up his position in the same sheltered place and from there asked Sayid Ajmal to send a letter to *Shaikh-ul-Islam* expressing that the terms agreed would not be violated.[3] Mahmud Sharqi not only re-asserted his willingness to observe the treaty, but also expressed his willingness to revive and continue the friendly relations by exchanging communications and compliments. He also requested that the Jaunpur emissaries who had been kept waiting at Ujjain should be permitted to return and the presents should be accepted.[4] While returning towards Jaunpur after reaching the third stage of his march, Mahmud Sharqi again wrote a letter to Sultan Mahmud and also to Isma'il Khan strongly confirming the agreement.[5] Thus the family

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 152b; *Firishta*, II, p. 598

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 152b, 153a.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 153a.

[4] *Ibid.*, fols. 153a-b.

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 153b.

of Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* was fully pacified and Mahmud Khalji was also satisfied with the arrangement. In fact Nasir *Khan-i-Jahan* was made to realise that he could survive only if he kept his allegiance to Mahmud Khalji Thus after the Kalpi affair settled, Mahmud Khalji returned to Shadiabad Mandu

Chapter VI

MAHMUD'S RELATIONS WITH THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

Internal condition of Bahmani kingdom—First attempt of Mahmud, its failure—Disturbed condition in Bahmani kingdom—Mahmud invades Bahmani kingdom—The battle of Maheskar on the Manjar river—Mahmud's victory—Mahmud besieges Bidar—Mahmud Begada comes to the help of the Bahmani ruler—Mahmud returns to Malwa—Third attempt of Mahmud—Mahmud concentrates in Berar—Loss of Mahmudabad Kherla and its recovery—Last round of hostility with the Deccan—Negotiations and conclusion of treaty.

SIGNING of the treaty with Gujarat was a great event in Mahmud's life. He was left undisturbed to pursue his policy of aggrandisement and territorial expansion. No doubt Qutb-ud-din did not live long after the treaty but the brief period of Da'ud was finally followed by the accession of Fath Khan *ibn* Muhammad who assumed the title of Mahmud and was known as Mahmud Begada. But as Mahmud was hardly fourteen at the time of accession, he very much needed the time to understand the problems of administration and current politics, and thus Gujarat followed a policy of peace towards Malwa and the treaty continued to be effective. Mahmud had been fighting the Rajputs of Mewar, but on that side, he must have realised, territorial expansion was not possible nor was a resolution of territorial boundaries possible. While Sultan Mahmud was busy with the rising Rajput power of Mewar, he did not neglect territories adjacent to the other parts of his kingdom. In the south-east between Malwa and the Bahmani kingdom the territory of Kherla had become a bone of contention and Mahmud wanted to solve the problem by annexing a part of Berar to his kingdom which would push his frontiers and would make Kherla a frontier outpost.

INTERNAL CONDITION OF BAHMANI KINGDOM

While Mahmud was engaged elsewhere, the Bahmani kingdom itself was passing through troubles. The arrival of a large

number of newcomers in the court and their elevation and also their matrimonial relations[1] with Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad II were not liked by the Dakhanis. Thus a contest between the Dakhanis (or the oldcomers) and the newcomers ensued which started eating the kingdom from within its vitals. As Prof. Sherwani points out. "The conflict between the two groups had reached such a pitch towards the end of the reign of Ahmad II that had not a new principle, that of equilibrium between the two groups, crept into the politics of the Deccan, the Bahmani kingdom would have disintegrated much earlier than it did. The protagonists of this new policy were two renowned persons, 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad II's daughter-in-law, Nargis Begum, and his new find Mahmud Gawan."[2]

MAHMUD'S FIRST ATTEMPT AND ITS FAILURE

Mahmud had been carefully watching this party struggle and wanted to derive benefit out of it. He got his opportunity when Jalal Khan, the newcomer and brother-in-law of Sultan Ahmad II and his son Sikandar Khan revolted in Nalgunda.[3] Nalgunda was immediately attacked by Sultan 'Ala-ud-din and while Jalal Khan shut himself up in the fort he sent his son Sikandar Khan along with a few other *amirs* to Mahur to seek help from Mahmud Khalji. Sikandar Khan from Mahur appealed to Mahmud Khalji that 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad II was dead and the country was in grave danger, he should, therefore, come and protect it. Sikandar Khan also informed Mahmud Khalji that if he would come quickly, the territory of Berar and Telingana

[1] Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad ruled from 1436 to 1458 A D. Three of the King's sisters were married respectively to Jalal Khan, *Shah* Nurullah and *Shah* Habibullah One of his daughters was married to *Shah* Muhibullah and another daughter to another Afaqi, *Shah* Quli Sultan Changezi. The Sultan had also given place on his right to the newcomers and oldcomers to the left Vide, Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 224

[2] Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 225

[3] *Firishta*, I, p 652

It was rumoured that the king had died of a malignant wound in his shin from which he had been suffering Firishta says that Jalal Khan on hearing this news declared his son Sikandar Khan as king

Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol. 188a Shihab Hakim says, because Jalal Khan and Sikandar Khan had become very powerful Sultan 'Ala-ud-din thought of destroying them Taking alarm Sikandar Khan, *Amir* Mu'azzam, son of Mahmud Mughal and Rai Siv Das with his brother sought protection of Mahmu Khalji.

would come into his possession without any difficulty.[1] Mahmud did not want to lose this opportunity and in *Muharram*[2] 857 A.H./Jan.-Feb. 1453 A.D. he started from Hoshangabad for Mahur via Kherla. When Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad received the information of this invasion from the north, he immediately moved from Nalgonda towards Mahur with a huge army of 180,000 men. Dividing the army into three sections, he placed *Malik-ut-Tujjar* Qasim Beg with the Daulatabad army opposite the Malwa army and levies of Berar against Mubarak of Khandesh, while he stood by at the head of the forces of Bijapur.[3]

Sultan Mahmud had started on the false information about Sultan Ahmad II's death and had come with a force of only 50 thousand. He had expected that his task would be easy. But when he found that the opposing army was very strong and the Sultan was alive, he did not risk a battle, the result of which was too obvious. But he did not like that Sikandar Khan should immediately return to the Bahmani camp or fall into the hands of Ahmad II which would imperil his position. So while he ordered a return march he left a contingent of one thousand,[4] outwardly to guard the person of Sikandar Khan, but really to see that he did not join hands with the Bahmani Sultan. After the return of Mahmud, Sikandar Khan, however, managed to escape from his virtual imprisonment at the hands of the Malwa forces and went over to Ahmad II seeking his pardon. Thus Mahmud could not achieve any thing in his attempt in 857 A.H./1453 A.D. After his return he was engaged in other directions and waited for another opportunity.

Conditions in the Bahmani kingdom, however, deteriorated. Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad II died towards the end[5] of *Jumada* I 862 A.H./March-April 1458 A.D., and was succeeded by his eldest son 'Ala-ud-din Humayun Shah whose formal coronation took

[1] *Firishta*, I, p. 652. While Firishta mentions the offer of Berar and Telingana, Saiyid 'Ali Taba Taba and Shihab Hakim do not mention it.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 188b; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 86; *Firishta*, I, p. 652, II, p. 494. Firishta puts the incident in 858 A.H.

[3] *Firishta*, I, p. 653; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 86.

[4] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 86; *Firishta*, I, p 653; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 189b.

[5] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 87; *Firishta*, I, p. 653; *T A*. III, p. 34, have 21st *Jumada* I, 862 A.H.; *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 246. According to Sherwani, he died on 18 *Jumada* I, 862 A.H.

place on 22nd of *Jumada* II 862[1] A.H./7-5-1458 A D The short reign of Humayun Shah which lasted a little over 3 years was full of troubles and in spite of his best efforts he could not resolve the differences that existed between the parties of newcomers and Dakhanis Sikandar Khan again raised the standard of rebellion, and with the help of his father Jalal Khan and the *Linga* ruler of the Velmas of Tilangana, threatened the Royal camp. However, in the engagement, Sikandar Khan was killed Humayun followed this success by sending armies against *Linga* of the Velmas under *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Ghuri and *Khwaja-i-Jahan* While the Bahmani forces besieged Dewarkonda, *Linga* sought help from Kapileshwar, the Gajapati ruler of Orissa [2] *Nizam-ul-Mulk* and *Khwaja-i-Jahan* were defeated, but the latter misrepresented the facts and put all the blame for defeat on *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Ghuri, which enraged the Sultan, whereupon *Nizam-ul-Mulk* left the Deccan and came to Malwa. and along with his family sought the shelter of Sultan Mahmud Khalji.[3]

Sultan Humayun Shah soon had to face the rebellion of his younger brother Hasan Khan whom he had imprisoned at the time of his accession This rebellion of Hasan Khan was finally suppressed by *Sha'ban* 864 A H./June 1460 A.D. But the cruel punishment that he meted out to the rebels created a feeling of disgust and he fell victim to a conspiracy and was killed by a maid-servant while he was asleep on 28th *Ziqa'd* 865/1-9-1461.[4] Thus Humayun left the Bahmani kingdom behind him almost in a melting pot He was succeeded by his son Nizam-ud-din Ahmad III[5] who was only eight years of age and the administration was left in the hands of a Council of Regency, nominated by Humayun Shah before his death, consisting of *Khwaja-i-Jahan* Turk, *Malik-ut-Tujjar* Mahmud Gawan and the Dowager Queen Nargis Begum having a casting vote [6]

Taking advantage of the accession of a boy-king, Gajapati

[1] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 88

[2] Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p 293, *Firishta*, I, p 657, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 217b; Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 260-262.

[3] *TA* III, pp 37 and 341, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 111, *Firishta*, I. p 658; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 216a

[4] *Firishta*, I, p. 662, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 96, has 27 *Ziqa'd* 865 A H

[5] The title Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Shah is given in *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, Letter No. XIX, p 95; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 96 has Nizamshah

[6] *Firishta*, I, p. 662, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 276.

Kapileshwar of Orissa who had been taking interest in the affairs of Tilangana, invaded the Bahmani kingdom and advanced to Kaulas, destroying and plundering all that came in his way,[1] and pushed forward to a place within ten miles of the capital itself.[2] But the invader was pushed back after a fierce battle and according to Prof. Sherwani, he was forced to pay an indemnity of five lacs of silver *tankas*.[3] The danger from Orissa was thus averted but the engagement did weaken to a certain degree the military strength of the Bahmani kingdom

Mahmud Khalji who in his previous attempt had to return without achieving any success now found his opportunity to invade the Bahmani kingdom Mahmud Khalji's decorum in his relations with the neighbouring kingdom has failed to get the proper appreciation He kept up formalities for the sake of dignity and courtesy but did not allow sentiment to interfere in the pursuit of his policy. It has already been pointed out that while invading Gujarat when he received the news of Sultan Muhammad's death, he held the mournings and condolences on the demise of a fellow king, but at the same time did not give up the invasion. Similarly in his relations with the Bahmani kingdom, he had on the accession of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad III sent congratulations and presents and had accepted the presents sent by the new Bahmani king But it did not mean that he had established friendly relations or had given up his idea of acquiring the territory of Elichpur.

Thus when the Bahmani army had just returned from the campaigns against Kapileshwar and has not yet properly settled down, Sultan Mahmud on 20th of *Muharram* 866 A.H./25th October, 1461 A D. led his army against the Bahmani ruler.[4]

[1] *Firishta*, I, p. 664

[2] *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 279; *Firishta*, I, p 664 has ten *karoh* while *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* has 3 *farsakh*; Banerji. *History of Orissa*, p. 298 says "almost reached the gates of capital Bidar"

[3] Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, p. 296, disbelieves that Orissa army was defeated. But it has been refuted by Sherwani See *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 280 and fn. 12; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 97.

[4] *Ma'athar-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 217b. According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud proceeded towards Bidar for the protection of the people from the *Rai* of Jajnagar.

Firishta, I, p 665 Firishta says that *Rai* of Orissa (Kapileshwar) now found his opportunity to efface his previous defeat and marched towards the

(*Continued on next page*)

Mahmud Khalji first turned towards Khandesh and crossing the river Narbada marched towards Asir where the new ruler 'Adil Khan was not favourably disposed towards him 'Adil Khan, in alarm, sent one of the descendants of *Shaikh* Farid-ud-din Mas'ud *Shakarganj* to intercede on his behalf. Sultan Mahmud's real aim in moving towards Khandesh was to bring 'Adil Khan to subordination so that his rear might not be exposed to a possible attack. 'Adil Khan's humility fulfilled his aim[1] and being satisfied with the attitude of the Khandesh ruler he proceeded towards Deccan.

After crossing Khandesh, Sultan Mahmud marched to Balapur where he received information that the Deccan Sultan had also collected his forces and had taken up his position.[2] Mahmud also pushed forward after having arranged his army in regular formation. Thus he kept himself in the Centre (*Qalb*) with 60 elephants and 30 thousand cavalry; the right wing (*Maimana*) he placed under the command of Sher Khan with 30 elephants and 10 thousand cavalry; the left wing (*Maisara*) he placed under *Khan-i-A'zam* Taj Khan. The advance guard was also divided into centre (*Qalb-i-A'la*) and right and left wings, (*Janah-i-Maimana-i-Khas* and *Janah-i-Maisara-i-Khas*). In the *Qalb-i-A'la*, he placed 20 elephants and a few thousand specially armed soldiers, while he attached such officers as Khawas Khan, Yaqan Khan, Mubarak Khan and Qiwam Khan in the *Janah-i-Maimana-i-Khas* and Mukhtas Khan, Yusuf Khan, Malik Firuz, Nusrat Khan and a few *Rai Rayans* in the *Janah-i-Maisara-i-Khas*.[3] Marching in formation, Mahmud reached a

(Continued from pre-page)

Bahmani territory along with the *rayans* of Tilang Nizamshah sent one army against them and with the other he proceeded against Mahmud Khalji

Haft Iqlim, p. 65. According to Amin Ahmad Razi, Mahmud invaded Deccan on learning that the ruler of Deccan was minor

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 218b; *Firishta*, II, p 498; *T.A.* III, p 342; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 53.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 218b.

According to Shihab Hakim, Sultan Mahmud received information that the ruler of Bidar had ordered *'Ariz-i-Mumalik* to collect army from all outposts such as Tilang, Mahur, Vijaynagar and Anagundi and had given 2 crore *Mal* for their expenses Thus a huge force had been collected which included 150 elephants, and also that the army was encamped in the grounds adjoining Bidar.

Firishta, II, p. 498, *T.A* III, p 342.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 219a-b

place in *Mauza* Maheskar by the river Manjar[1] on 12th *Jumada* 1/12th February 1462 A.D. at a distance of eight *karoh* from Bidar. According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud decided to start the battle next day, because while marching, the army had been disorganised and it must have been exhausted also due to the march. Thus Mahmud gave orders for pitching the tents and making arrangement for his camp etc. He had personally occupied the centre and prepared defence works[2] in front of his camp. While Mahmud was thus making arrangement for his halt he received information that the Deccan forces had already started moving for the attack Finding that there was hardly time enough for new disposition, he gave orders that they should fight in the same position in which they had marched[3]

BATTLE OF MAHESKAR ON THE RIVER MANJAR

From the account of Shihab Hakim it is obvious that the Malwa force did not fare well in this first engagement[4] and it

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 220a According to Shihab Hakim the battle was fought after reaching this place and at a distane of few *karoh* between this place and Bidar

Zafar-ul-walih, p 17 says,"the battle was fought at 40 *kos* from the capital" *T A* III, p 342 says, Mahmud pushed his forces up to 3 *farsangs* from the camp of Nizamshah

Firishta, I, p 661-5 has, territory of Qandhar.

Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 281. According to Sherwani the confederate crossed into the Deccan through Khandesh territory advancing to within ten *harsakhs* or about thirty-two miles of Bidar. The battle according to Sherwani was fought near the fortified town of Qandhar.

However,we find Shihab Hakim clearly mentioning the river Manjar, which certainly is nearer to Bidar, the town being situated a few miles south of the river. Qandhar is far off in the north from the river Manjar. Being contemporary his account is more reliable, besides he has correctly given the location of the rivers and I find no reason to reject him and accept later writers

[2] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 98

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 221a

[4] *Ibid.*, fols 221a-b

Shihab Hakim incidentally mentions that in the Deccanese army some magician asked for 2 owls and a pigeon to find out the opportune moment for attack and said the direction to which the pigeon would fly would indicate the defeat of the side He found the moment and slaughtered the two owls and let go the pigeon which flew towards Malwa camp. He therefore declared that attack should be immediately made because victory was on the side of the Deccan The attack was made without delay.

The story certainly indicates the superstition that dominated the medieval Indian mind

was only the personal bravery of Sultan Mahmud which turned what would have been a defeat, into a victory. In the first charge led by Mahmud Gawan, Malwa lost Mahabat Khan and *Zahir-ul-Mulk*, both of whom were killed Ghiyath Shah was also wounded[1] in the charge of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Turk and had to retire Mahmud Khalji, perceiving that his forces were being defeated, came out personally During the melee, a fierce charge was made on the person of Sultan Mahmud but he was saved by the timely aid of Sikandar Khan,[2] though the elephant of Mahmud was wounded The Deccanese, finding Malwa forces hard pressed, let go about 50 elephants towards them with the expectation that the enemy thereby would be dispersed But a volley of arrows from the Malwa forces turned the elephants back towards the Deccanese themselves[3] This created a general confusion and Sikandar Khan (Deccanee) under whose care the boy-king Nizam Shah had been placed was greatly alarmed. Fearing danger to the life of Nizam Shah,[4] he carried him straight to Bidar. The confusion caused by the elephants, followed by the absence of the Sultan disheartened the Deccanese. Just then Mahmud attacked with his personal force and completely routed the Deccanese who precipitately fled towards Bidar. Malwa forces captured 80 elephants in one group, and 19 elephants in other, besides, they also captured 8 wounded elephants and a huge amount of booty[5]

1 *Firishta*, I, p. 666 2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 233a

3 *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 99. According to Taba Taba, these elephants were captured by the infantry and cavalry of Mahmud Khalji

Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi, fol 222b Shihab Hakim clearly says that the elephants turned towards their own side as a result of a volley of arrows and created havoc in the ranks of the Deccanese.

Firishta, I, p 666. Firishta however says that the arrow of Mahmud Khalji struck the elephant of Sikandar Khan which turned towards its own side.

4 *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 99 Taba Taba denounces Sikandar Khan's action as foolish, and says, Sikandar Khan had placed the boy King on his own mount and tied his belt round his own waist The army, perceiving the royal mount empty, got confused and took flight

Firishta, I, p. 666 Firishta says, Sikandar Khan out of foolishness or ill-will against *Nizam-ul-Mulk*, left the place and went straight to Bidar without halting at any place

5 *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 99; *Firishta*, I, p 667; *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, pp 258-259 Mahmud Gawan in one of his letters also accepted this defeat, Letter No 48 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 225b Shihab Hakim has given these figures of the booty

With the sudden turn of fortune Mahmud found the entire Bahmani army retreating in haste. It took three days before Mahmud could understand the exact situation and to ascertain that it was not a big ruse to entrap him [1] He, therefore, to consolidate his victory, pushed forward towards the capital Bidar. The Dowager queen, anxious for the safety of her son, and in concurrence with Mahmud Gawan, placed Bidar fort under Mallu Khan *Dakhini* and herself along with the boy-Sultan retired to Firozabad [2] While the country around was being evacuated, Sultan Mahmud arrived at Bidar and having taken possession of the city laid siege to the citadel, while the army took possession of the districts and provinces of Berar, Bir and Daulatabad [3]

While Sultan Mahmud was besieging the citadel of Bidar, the Dowager Queen sent a messenger with a letter, inviting the Gujarati Sultan to their aid [4] Mahmud Khalji had felt complacent about Gujarat as he had concluded a treaty earlier and had been expecting that the accession of boy-king Mahmud Begada would not materially alter the attitude of Gujarat towards Malwa. Mahmud Khalji was not much wrong in his calculation, because we find that when Mahmud Begada received the letter, the nobles dissuaded the Sultan from taking such a course of action and leaving Gujarat, but finding that the Sultan was adamant on his venture, they suggested that he should make a diversionary attack on Malwa and thus while remaining near Gujarat, he would be rendering help to the Deccan.[5] But Sultan Mahmud had not reckoned with the personality and character of his namesake, the young ruler, who was as ambitious as he himself was

Mahmud Begada marched out with a force of 80,000 cavalry

[1] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 96

[2] *T A*. III, p 43, *Firishta*, II, p 469 and I p 667, *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 100, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 227a

[3] *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 283, *Firishta*, I, p 668

[4] *Firishta*, I, p 668; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 100

Taba Taba mentions, *Makhduma-i-Jahan* was responsible for the idea and its execution The letter is also mentioned in *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 111

[5] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 101

It may be interesting to note here the following observation of Varthema about the mustachios of Mahmud Begada, that "His mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses". Vide, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Reprint, Hakluyt Society), p 109.

and by forced marches arrived at Sultanpur. The news of his arrival was conveyed to Sultan Nizam-ud-din Ahmad III by the *thanadar* of Fathabad.[1] The arrival of the Gujarati forces restored courage to the Deccanese Mahmud Gawan was sent with 6,000 horses to the frontier by way of Bir and 20,000 Gujarati troops also joined him. *Khwaja-i-Jahan* was also sent to the capital. Mahmud Gawan, after collecting more men, now marched towards Bidar with a force of 40,000. Thus when Mahmud Khalji was very near the achievement of his desired object, the Gujarat intervention deprived him of the fruit.[2] He was now hemmed in from three sides and realizing the difficult situation, he began his retreat. He first went towards Kalyani, but the scouts informed him that the passage through that side was barred by the army of Mahmud Begada He, therefore, returned through the uneven land of Berar

THIRD ATTEMPT OF MAHMUD

After returning to Shadiabad, Mahmud Khalji spent some time in reorganising his army and giving rest to his soldiers but he had not given up the idea of the conquest of Berar. The following year *i e.* in A H 867,[3] on 26th *Rabi'* I/19th December, 1462 A.D., he marched out of Shadiabad with a well-equipped army consisting of ninety thousand cavalry and marched towards Daulatabad As Sultan Mahmud reached the banks of the river Tihana, 'Adil Khan of Khandesh took alarm and sent *Shaikh* Da'ud with a petition that he was already Sultan Mahmud's

[1] *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 289 Sherwani identifies Fathabad with Laling and writes "This Fathabad was without doubt Laling six miles north of Dhulia in West Khandesh district"

Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, p 627

Hodiwala notes, "Laling fort stands on the summit of high hill six miles north of Dhulia and commands the Agra road and the Avir pass leading to Malegaon which is 27 miles south of Dhulia."

But Fathabad was also the name of Daulatabad, and Muhammad Parviz *Sultani* is found in another instance as the *thanadar* of Daulatabad I am, therefore, of the opinion that Fathabad here refers to Daulatabad

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p 139.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 237b, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 113; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 105; Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta have a slightly confused version in their respective sections on Malwa, but they are more clear in the Deccan section of their history. Vide, *T A* III, pp. 44 and 353, *Firishta*, II, p 449.

dependent[1] and therefore his country should be spared from destruction. Thus assured of the attitude of the Khandesh Sultan, Mahmud marched ahead and reached the Purna river and pitched his tents in Tandar village. From Tandar, he marched straight to Daulatabad.[2] Malik Parvez *Sultani*, the governor of the place, resorted to a scorched earth policy and after burning everything in the city took shelter in the hill fort of Daulatabad.[3] Sultan Mahmud besieged the fort, but finding that conquest of the fort was not an easy task, he sent a person to Malik Parvez to entice him to come over to the Malwa side Malik Parvez, in the beginning, refused but when Mahmud hard pressed the siege he submitted and begged that his life may be spared Shihab Hakim says, Mahmud accepted the submission and raised the siege, he then personally went inside the fort and surveyed the buildings and then returned.[4] At Daulatabad, Mahmud visited the tombs of *Shaikh* Burhan-ud-din and *Shaikh* Zain-ud-din and gave fifty thousand *tankas* for distribution amongst "*Mujawir*", "*Fuqara*" and "*Masakin*"

From Daulatabad Mahmud turned towards Elichpur. Shihab Hakim has not given any cause for this sudden change in the direction of his march According to Shihab Hakim, Nizam Shah had sent an envoy with a letter[5] to Mahmud Begada seeking his help before Mahmud Khalji had actually marched out *i e.* just on receiving information about the intention of the Khalji towards Deccan; and also that Mahmud Khalji had welcomed such a move as he wanted to meet both the enemies[6] and

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 238a
This was the second petition and also second visit of *Shaikh* Da'ud

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 240a; *Zifar-ul-walih*, p 116, has Fathabad. Fathabad was the name of Daulatabad

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 242a Shihab Hakim mentions the name of the fort as Deogir and says it had been built by Ram Deo

4 *Ibid* This statement of Shihab Hakim seems to be an exaggeration

5 *Ibid*, fol 236a Shihab Hakim has also given the purport of the letter

6 *Ibid*, fol 237a.

فکر دوربین ما می خواست که والی گجرات و آمر
دکن که پای از جادهٔ ادب بیرون نهاده و دست تصلف بر
کشاده و سرپفتنه انگیزی بر آورده اند، هر یک را گوسمالی
بسزا داده آید

settle the issue in one battle with both of them Shihab Hakim seems to have deliberately twisted the facts to conceal the cause of Mahmud Khalji's return from Daulatabad Mahmud Khalji certainly was not the person to undertake an invasion of the Deccan if he had known beforehand that Mahmud Begada was coming to the aid of the Bahmani ruler He had never displayed fool-hardiness in any of his undertakings. The real situation therefore, it seems, was that when he started he had expected to make profit out of the division that existed in the Bahmani court with a boy-king on the throne. But when he entered Bahmani territory, Nizam Shah Bahmani again sought the help of the Gujarati Sultan. In the *Rajab* 867/April 1463 A D., Mahmud Khalji while at Daulatabad, came to know that Mahmud Begada had arrived at Sultanpur and Nandarbar to help the Deccan Sultan [1] He at once retraced his steps towards Malwa As his route through Khandesh was barred by the Gujarati forces, he moved towards Berar On his way he moved towards the fort of Balkonda[2] and after raiding some villages he returned to Shadiabad by way of Gondwana, reaching Shadiabad on 20th of *Sha'ban*[3] 867/10th May, 1463

Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji was again prevented from taking any advantage from the Bahmani kingdom by the timely aid of his Gujarati namesake Three attempts convinced him that it was not possible to gain anything by marching into the Deccan territory. Henceforth he concentrated on the Berar front and started strengthening Kherla and sending punitive raids against Elichpur.

MAHMUD CONCENTRATES ON BERAR

After staying in the capital for some time Mahmud made an

[1] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 106; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 113, *TA III*, p 44, *Firishta*, II, p. 499

[2] *T.A.* III, p 44 has, Malkanda, *Firishta*, II, p 449 has, Palkandah; *Briggs*, IV, p. 229, fn. remarks, "I am not aware of any town in Berar, bearing this name; and the Teloogoo termination Conda, renders it likely to be an error of the transcribers. It may be Mulkapoor, which lies in the direct route of the King's retreat"

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 242b Shihab Hakim says, as rainy season was coming, he returned to Shadiabad on 20th *Sha'ban*

Probably in 1463 A.D when Mahmud Khalji was at Daulatabad for some time, his treasurer Sangam Singh Soni may have gone to Paithan for holy bath in the Godavari, which was only about 30 miles south from there. See *Buddhi Sagar*.

attack on Elichpur.[1] While he was marching to Elichpur he detached Sher Khan from his army and sent him towards Kalam He caused ravage and destruction to the countryside of Elichpur and after defeating the Elichpur army that opposed him, returned to his capital. Sher Khan also thoroughly sacked Kalam and also brought some prisoners. He was obviously putting pressure on the Elichpur front, but as there were still many refractory petty chiefs who needed his attention, he could not concentrate on Elichpur. Besides, Kherla was still in the possession of the descendants of *Rai* Nar Singh whose loyalty was very doubtful Kherla, being the vantage point, he first of all removed Harnaik *Zunnardar* and started improving the fortifications and re-christened it as Mahmudabad.[2] As there was a shortage of grain in the locality, he sent *Siraj-ul-Mulk* along with provisions, to take up the charge of Mahmudabad fort and ordered him to store grain in the fort[3] Thus Mahmudabad Kherla was created as a base for launching offensive on Elichpur. But Sultan Mahmud was not satisfied with his position merely by strengthening Mahmudabad Kherla; he thought of the acquisition of other strong forts in the locality too. According to this plan he marched towards Bairagarh[4] and sent a message asking the *Rai* to attend his court. The *Rai* was alarmed and sent his '*naib*' asking for two days' time to collect the tribute and men and then come to his court. But after the expiry of the stipulated time when the *Rai* did not turn up, Mahmud attacked his fort The *Rai* was defeated and driven out. The fort was also damaged. Mahmud collected the booty which included diamonds, which he learnt, were found in the locality

These activities of Sultan Mahmud alarmed the Bahmani

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 244a, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 303 Sherwani says that "although there had been no fighting in the northern sector since *Rajab* 867 A H /April, 1463 A D , the tension between the two kingdoms had by no means abated "

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 243a.

3 *Ibid* , fols 245a-b The grain in Kherla was stored after plundering the neighbourhood of Elichpur territory and the fields of Bhatkanu After Bhatkanu was occupied, it was also strengthened. Thus we find Mahmud strengthening his position on the Elichpur front in Berar

4 *Ibid* , fol. 257a

Bairagarh is given in the *Ain* as a Mahal in the Savkar of Garha where a fort existed, and was inhabited by Gonds Vide, *Ain*, II, Jarrett, (Sarkar, 1949) p. 211.

Sultan who despatched[1] a force of twenty thousand for strengthening the borders of the Bahmani kingdom and its defences on the side of Malwa. As *Ramazan* was approaching and the Sultan was contemplating the launching of an attack, he gave leave to his men to return to their homes to spend the *Ramazan*, and himself returned to Shadiabad[2] in six days' march.

However, before Sultan Mahmud could launch his attack he fell ill. But even during his illness he did not lie quietly in Shadiabad; instead, on 24th of *Rabi'* I 870 A H 3/14th Nov 1465 A.D. he left Shadiabad in a *palki* and reached Nalcha where he took rest for some time. In the meantime Muhammad Shah Lashkari, the Bahmini ruler, took measures to check the onward encroachment of Malwa and ordered *Nizam-ul-Mulk*[4] Turk to attack and destroy Kherla. Sultan Mahmud received this information while resting at Nalcha and immediately ordered *'Ariz-i-Mamalik* to summon all the soldiers and after muster, put them on purpose,[5] and he appointed Taj Khan as *'Ariz* for the army which was to be on the move

LOSS OF MAHMUDABAD KHERLA AND ITS RECOVERY

Siraj-ul-Mulk who had been placed in charge of Mahmudabad Kherla, proved himself indolent and did not pay proper attention to strengthen his army and to keep it in readiness for unforeseen eventualities.[6] Besides, he used to indulge in wine heavily. It was in this state of negligence and complacency that he received

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 257b These activities have not been mentioned by other historians

[2] *Ibid*, fol. 258a [3] *Ibid*, fol 258b.

[4] *Ibid*, fol. 259a While at Nalcha, Mahmud received information of the Deccanese movement towards Kherla, hence the Deccan attack on Kherla must have taken place in 870 A H /1465-66 A D According to Shihab Hakim the cause of this attack on Kherla was 'to wipe out the disgrace of previous defeat at Bidar, now the Deccan was trying to pick up quarrel with the territories which were under Mahmud'

Riyaz-ul-Insha, p. 85, gives the name of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* as Malik Yusuf Turk

Firishta, II, p. 500 also says, *Nizam-ul-Mulk* was ordered to attack Kherla in 870 A.H.; *Briggs*, IV, p. 229 has, *Rabi'* I 871 / Oct 11, 1466 A D

Burhan-i-Ma'athir, p. 109, also puts the invasion in 870 A H Against all these evidences Sherwani puts the invasion in 872 A H /1468 A D on the basis of Firishta's statement in the Deccan section which obviously is wrong. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* was killed by the end of 870 A.H.

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 259a. [6] *Ibid*, fol 259b.

the news of the attack[1] of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* had been emboldened to attack Kherla by the news of Sultan Mahmud's illness, as he had expected that the Sultan would not be able to move out nor would he have appointed any army for that side.[2] When *Nizam-ul-Mulk* attacked, *Siraj-ul-Mulk's* son came out and fought bravely, but he was killed.[3] According to the statement of Mahmud Gawan, *Siraj-ul-Mulk* was defeated in the first attack and five thousand infantry and cavalry soldiers were killed and *Nizam-ul-Mulk* acquired twenty-three elephants.[4] *Nizam-ul-Mulk* occupied Mahmudabad Kherla, which thus for the time being was lost to Malwa. But *Nizam-ul-Mulk* was not destined to enjoy this position for long. According to Shihab Hakim,[5] *Nizam-ul-Mulk* had never achieved such success with the result that he became very proud and did not care for the vengeance of the enemy. He neglected his personal safety and one of the men from his army killed him, in revenge.[6] 'Adil Khan and Darya Khan, the adopted sons of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* made some hasty arrangements for the preservation of the fort and carried the corpse of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* to Bidar.

[1] *T.A* III, p. 344, *Ma'athr-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 260a

[2] *Ibid*, fol. 259b, *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p 87, Letter No. 16. Mahmud Gawan in this letter also says that Mahmud was seriously ill at this time and that *Nizam-ul-Mulk* had been deputed to the conquest of Kherla, with his own forces and the forces of Mahur.

[3] *Ma'athr-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 260a

[4] *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p 85

[5] *Ma'athr-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 260a, *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p 85
Mahmud Gawan also speaks of him as a vain person.

[6] *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p 85 has

و بعد از هبوب رياح نصرت سماب و انخفاف عذبات فتح آيات

The sentence conveys the sense of time lapse, *i e*, he was not murdered immediately on occupation of the fort

According to *Riyaz*, a *Kafir* whose family and children were arrested before his eyes, came wailing towards *Nizam-ul-Mulk* and as if paying obeisance he plunged a poisonous dagger into him which caused his instantaneous death

Firishta, I, p 674 According to Firishta when the Deccan forces had finally succeeded in gaining the fortress, two Rajput defenders of the citadel came to him and begged him to allow them to kiss his feet This request was granted, but as they bowed for the supposed obeisance, instead of kissing the commander's feet they took him unawares and stabbed him in the heart killing him instantaneously.

The loss of Kherla so much upset Sultan Mahmud that in spite of his illness and inability to ride, he at once moved out in a *palki* and ordered Taj Khan to proceed at once to Kherla to settle its affairs [1] The death of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* had weakened the position of the Deccanese, and Taj Khan driving out the Deccanese, easily occupied Mahmudabad Kherla Mahmudabad Kherla was then placed under Maqbul Khan[2] who was given four lakhs of *tankas*, 50 horses, 15 elephants and baggage etc. to further strengthen this outpost

THE LAST ROUND OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE DECCAN

Maqbul Khan soon established himself in Mahmudabad Kherla, and even sent a punitive expedition under Ghazi Khan[3] into Elichpur and caused some damage to it In the meantime Mahmud Khalji received a petition from Malik Mahmud Parwez, the Deccanese governor of Daulatabad, seeking his help against Mahmud Gawan [4] It is quite likely that Mahmud Gawan had gone to punish Malik Mahmud Parwez, who had submitted to Mahmud Khalji on the previous occasion *i e* in 867/1462-63 and now Malik Mahmud Parwez thought it best to seek the help of one who was not only strong but who was an enemy of the Deccan This petition of Malik Parwez placed Mahmud in a predicament, as he could not be sure that this was not a ruse to ensnare him in Daulatabad However, he finally decided to help and marched towards Daulatabad [5]

According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud Gawan, on receiving this news of the move of Mahmud Khalji, returned towards Bidar.[6] After Mahmud's return to Shadiabad, he received information from Maqbul Khan that Deccanese officers were

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 260b, *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p. 87 Mahmud Gawan says that Khalji was confined but was so agitated on hearing this news that he moved in a *palki* towards Kherla

Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp 304-305. Sherwani, following Firishta, places the incident in 872/1468, and conveys a sense that *Nizam-ul-Mulk* was killed almost on the occupation of the fort of Kherla

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 260b

[3] *Ibid.* fol. 268b [4] *Ibid* [5] *Ibid*, fol 269b

[6] *Ibid*; *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p. 87. Mahmud Gawan, however, writes that "when Mahmud heard about it he also moved towards the same direction, but as our forces were moving through the regular route, he moved through the difficult path full of jungles and mountains, and according to my *jasus* he is so much disturbed that he may die on his way "

thinking of attacking Kherla. Mahmud Khalji held a council[1] with *Mansur-ul-Mulk* and *Rai Rayan* Rai Siv Das and it was unanimously agreed that action be taken immediately. According to the decision, an army was sent to destroy Elichpur and its environs towards the middle of *Rabi'* II 871 A.H /Nov. 1466 A D Maqbul Khan along with *Mansur-ul-Mulk* and *Rai Rayan* Rai Siv Das marched towards Elichpur halting at Radpur and Taluda, destroying and collecting booty, they reached the borders of Elichpur. Maqbul Khan had collected twelve thousand cattle and four thousand slaves, besides countless other commodities by way of booty (*ghana'im*)[2] With this booty the Malwa army had become very heavy, yet Maqbul Khan divided his army into three sections and attacked Elichpur from three sides, causing heavy damage to its defences.[3]

From the narrative of both Shihab Hakim and Firishta it seems that Maqbul Khan after causing heavy damage and having sacked Elichpur decided to return as he had collected heavy baggage. Wafa Khan[4], the governor of Elichpur, hearing of the return of Maqbul Khan, collected a force of fifteen hundred *sawars* and numberless foot soldiers, and in consultation with his associates[5] such as, Qazi Khan, Pir Khan, Farkhunda Khan and Hasan Khan, decided to make a night attack on the Malwa army which was returning laden with booty. Maqbul Khan, however, got information of this plan and taking into consideration the heavy baggage and also the uneven nature of ground, which could never provide full opportunity to all his men, divided his army into groups. One portion of his army, he despatched as a guard for the heavy booty. He then selected the best men from the army and kept them separate under his personal command The rest of the army he sent to face Wafa Khan's attack When Wafa Khan and his associates attacked this army, *Mansur-ul-Mulk* and *Rai Rayan* Rai Siv Das attacked them from one side and Maqbul Khan from the other and completely

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 272a.

2 *Ibid*, fol. 272b.

3 So in *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, but Firishta says he occupied the town and gave it up to be plundered. Vide, *Firishta*, II, p 500.

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 273a. Firishta has not given the name but only says 'governor of Elichpur'

5 So in *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 273a, *Firishta*, II, p. 500, names only Qazi Khan and Pir Khan, *Briggs*, IV, p 229, has omitted the names altogether.

routed the forces of Wafa Khan and drove them upto the gates of Elichpur.[1] The rout of the Deccanese forces was so great that twenty of their officers were killed, thirty important persons were imprisoned and twenty and odd horses along with the sword and the *Chatra* of Wafa Khan fell into the hands of the Malwa general With this victory and laden with booty Maqbul Khan returned to Mahmudabad Kherla [2]

TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

Thus we find that Sultan Mahmud caused heavy damages and ravaged the territory of Elichpur and in spite of their best efforts, the Deccanese officers could not protect the territory. In fact these constant battles in the direction of Berar had assumed such magnitude[3] that it became a matter of concern for all peace-loving persons and efforts were made to bring about an understanding between the two kingdoms. It so happened that during the course of these military activities, Sultan Mahmud paid a visit to *Shaikh* Zia-ud-din *Biyabani* who was considered as a great Sufi and a holy person The *Shaikh*, instead of encouraging him, criticised boldly his policy of causing destruction, and advised him to withdraw his hand from causing fear and damage to the Muslims. He asked him to follow[4] the advice that "It is better that among the Muslims such reforms should be adopted, which are connected with and based upon public welfare."

Sultan Mahmud complained to the saint that instead of advising him, the saint should advise the Deccan ruler who was the real aggressor and was putting up his posts outside his territories The Sultan then told the saint that if the Deccanese Sultan withdraws his hand from Kherla, he too would not trouble the people. He plainly told the saint that Deccan intrusion was the main cause of all troubles.[5]

Shaikh Zia-ud-din *Biyabani* who was earnest in his intention of bringing about peace, wrote a letter to the *Ulama* and *Mashaikh* of the Deccan.[6] It is quite likely that this letter of *Shaikh* Zia-ud-din *Biyabani* might have been carried by *Qazi* Ladan Tahir and Ishaq Tahir as mentioned by Mahmud Gawan in

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol 273b
[2] *Ibid.*, *Firishta*, II, p 500, *Briggs*, IV, p 229.
[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*. fol. 273b.
[4] *Ibid*, fol. 274a [5] *Ibid* [6] *Ibid.*, fol 274b.

Riyaz-ul-Insha.[1] As the talks for peace were started by *Shaikh Biyabani*, Mahmud Gawan's claim that the Malwa Sultan wanted peace is not altogether unfounded, though the initiative was taken up by a non-political party. So far as Sultan Mahmud is concerned, he certainly was not averse to peace, and had also realised the futility of his military activity in Berar. But at that period his military campaigns were successful and the unsettled condition of the Deccan, because of the prevailing party-strife, might have led him to expect better terms. He, therefore, did not dissuade *Shaikh Biyabani*, on the other hand, in all likelihood, encouraged him in his mission.

Mahmud Gawan, the new Prime Minister of Muhammad Shah Bahmani, was also not averse to peace and his attitude is clearly indicated in the expression that when the other party was inclined towards peace, the Deccan would also be ready [2]

Qazi Shaikhan, the *Muhtasib*, who was well versed with the affairs of the Deccan and who had a very soothing tongue, was sent to Shadiabad by the Government of Muhammad Shah Lashkari to negotiate the terms of peace.[3] *Qazi* Shaikhan presented the entire case in a round-about way and expressed the Bahmani Sultan's demand that Sultan Mahmud should give up his claim over Mahmudabad (Kherla) or he could retain Mahmudabad provided he gave up the repair of the fortification and strengthening of the boundary.[4] However, it is obvious that such terms could not have been acceptable to Sultan Mahmud, who not only rejected them outright but threatened to march into the Deccan. According to Shihab Hakim, Mahmud stressed that so far he had refrained from invading Bidar out of two considerations, *i.e.* first that innocent people should not unnecessarily be tortured, and secondly, because the father of the Sultan of Bidar was dead and that there was trouble in his territories. Further, that he had already forgiven the atrocities of the Deccanese, and hence was willing for peace But there was a

[1] *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p. 93

[2] *Ibid*, pp 93-94. To merit seems that the exchange of letters with the *Mashaikh* took place before sending *Qazi* Shaikhan for settlement

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 274b, *T. A* III, p 345, Nizam-ud-Din also says that *Qazi* Shaikhan was sent to Shadiabad for effecting the peace treaty; *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, p 94 has, *Qazi* Shaikhan *Muhtasib* and *Qazi* Ahmad *Naib*

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 274b; *Firishta*, II, p 500

limit to everything.[1] Mahmud not only used the language of diplomacy but gave orders for a show of force, that the army should get ready to move towards Gulbarga and Bidar. *Qazi* Shaikhan realised that he had overshot his mark and pleaded that he should be given twenty days so as to enable his messengers to return from Bidar in which direction they had already been sent. Mahmud agreed to this proposition and gave orders that the execution of his orders should be postponed for a month.[2] Thus we find, while Mahmud was intent on his aim, he was equally willing for a peaceful settlement. Mahmud must be given due credit for his understanding of the situation. He knew very well that the Deccan at that time was in no mood to go to war. Mahmud Begada, the ally of the Deccan, was, engaged in Girnar[3] during this period, and, therefore, there was no possibility of his giving immediate help to the Deccan ruler.

The period taken by *Qazi* Shaikhan seems to have been not only for the purpose of getting replies but also to give time to the Deccan government to find out the possibilities in case no agreement was arrived at. We are informed by Shihab Hakim that even after the expiry of one month *Qazi* Shaikhan did not present himself to give a definite reply. Sultan Mahmud, on his part, knew the methods of pressure tactics, and, therefore, finding that no reply was forthcoming though the period had expired, he gave orders to the army to march. The army moved and pitched its tents at *Kaushak Jahan-numa* in Nalcha, ready to march. This move of Mahmud Khalji hastened the matters. *Qazi* Shaikhan immediately presented himself in the court and requested the Sultan not to undertake the attack, as he had been vested with full powers by the Deccanese Sultan to sign the treaty.[4]

THE TREATY

According to the agreement arrived at by both the parties, it was finally decided that Elichpur should form the boundary between the two kingdoms. According to Shihab Hakim,[5] Mahmud

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 275a. [2] *Ibid*, fol 275b.

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 114, Mahmud Begada marched towards Girnar in 871 A.H /1466-67 A.D

Mir'at-i-Ahmadi, pp 55-56, Mahmud Begada was busy towards Girnar in 871 and 872.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 275b [5] *Ibid*

consented to give the territories from Elichpur to the Deccanese. According to Nizam-ud-Din, "peace was concluded at these terms that the ruler of the Deccan should leave the country of Berar as far as Elichpur in the possession of Sultan Mahmud, and the latter should not henceforward cause any damage to the country of the Deccan".[1] Firishta says, according to the terms of the treaty, the ruler of the Deccan should leave Sultan Mahmud in possession as far as Elichpur and the country of Gondwara and Baqauli as far as Kherla, and Sultan Mahmud should cause no injury to the country of the Deccan.[2]

Thus we find that though Mahmud Khalji did not succeed in annexing Berar to his kingdom, he did succeed in cutting away a slice from that territory With Mahmudabad Kherla as a strong frontier outpost, commanding the hilly tract of Gawilgarh and Elichpur, Mahmud succeeded in creating a natural frontier in that direction. The treaty created good relationships between Malwa and the Deccan and remained effective till the end of the Bahmani State.[3]

1 *T A* III, (Tr) p 538

2 *Firishta*, II, p 500, *Briggs*, IV, p 230 says, "others have asserted that Elichpoor was ceded to Malwa on condition of the king refraining from invading Deccan in future", *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 111.

3 Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p 308

Chapter VII

MAHMUD'S RELATIONS WITH MEWAR AND THE PETTY CHIEFS OF THE NORTH

Political condition of Mewar—Family dissensions—Khem Karan in Malwa—Mahmud anxious about the growing power of Kumbha—First invasion of Chittor—Conquest of Gagraun—Unsuccessful attack on Mandalgarh—Mandalgarh again—Bayana and its subjugation—Conquest of Ajmer—Mandalgarh again—Conquest of Mandalgarh—More activities of Mahmud Khalji towards Mewar

THE last quarter of the fourteenth century witnessed the revival of Chittor as a prominent power in Rajputana, a natural consequence of which was a desire to extend its political power Thus the Ranas, from Hammir onwards, constantly led expeditions into adjacent Rajput and non-Rajput territories for establishing their suzerainty The rise of the independent kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa on the borders of Rajputana which were equally anxious for territorial aggrandisement, resulted in a triangular struggle for supremacy But so long as the rulers of these kingdoms were busy in consolidating their positions within their territories, the clash was avoided. For Malwa, a powerful Mewar with Chittor as headquarters, on her immediate north-west border was of great consequence During the reign of Hoshang Shah, the Mewar problem had been considerably solved by giving shelter to Chunda and Ajja and their followers, who were ousted as a result of the Rathor ascendancy in the court of Rana Mokul But the assassination of Rana Mokul and accession of Rana Kumbha in 1490 V.S [1]/ 1433 A.D. considerably changed the situation The Rathor ascendancy under Rao Ran Mal[2] not only witnessed the death of Chacha and Mera, the murderers of Rana Mokul, but also

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 319, *Tod*, I, p 230. Tod puts the accession in S 1475 (A.D. 1419). The error of Tod's date has been pointed out by *Kaviraj* Shyamal Das in *Vir Vinod*; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 35.

[2] The callousness of Rajput character can be found from the following lines of Sarda "Ran Mal took Chacha's daughter to wife, making Chacha's body serve as a '*bajot*' to sit on at the ceremony." Vide, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp. 39-40.

witnessed the foul murder of Raghava Deva, one of the brothers of Chunda and Mokul, who was held in highest esteem in Mewar. While it marked the peak of Rathor ascendancy in the Mewar court, it also marked the beginning of their fall in Mewar. Chunda and Ajja along with their followers soon returned to Chittor to avenge the murder of Raghava Deva, where Mahapa, one of the associates of Chacha and Mera, had already returned after a short stay in Malwa and Gujarat, and had succeeded in gaining pardon of Rana Kumbha Chunda's return was welcomed by the Sisodias and soon led to the death of Rao Ran Mal Rathor [1] Thus while the blood of Raghava Deva was avenged, the end of the Rathor ascendancy also led to the close of the Sisodia-Rathor contest that had been going on in the Mewar court politics since the ascendancy of Ran Mall, and restored the solidarity of Mewar. But for Malwa the Rajput buttress set up by Hoshang Shah by giving shelter to Chunda and Ajja was also gone.

The accession of Rana Kumbha was followed by a change in the policy of Chittor. Rana Kumbha asserted his suzerainty over Harauti, Dasur and such other neighbouring Rajput chiefs on the borders of Malwa and Mewar who had once accepted the suzerainty of Hoshang Shah. Thus for Mahmud Khalji, who was as ambitious as Rana Kumbha, Chittor at once became a menace.

The earlier years of Mahmud's reign were full of trouble because of rebellions at home and aggression from outside, particularly the invasion of Ahmad Shah Gujarati. It is, therefore, quite likely that when Mahapa Pawar, one of the accomplices of Chacha and Mera, took shelter in Malwa and Rana Kumbha demanded him back Mahmud Khalji asked him to leave Malwa.[2] This must have taken place sometime between 1437 A D. and 1438 A.D and these were the years of trouble for Mahmud, and he could not risk a war with Chittor then [3] Mahmud Khalji

[1] Ran Mal was killed in 1438 A D.

[2] *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 320

According to Shyamal Das, Mahapa Pawar had left Mandu before it was besieged by Rana Kumbha and Ran Mal, Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha* p. 51.

[3] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp 50-51.

Sarda, writes, "The two armies met in A D 1437 near Sarangpur, between Chittor and Mandsaur. After a severe engagement, the Sultan's army was

(*Continued on next page*)

had also recognised in Rana Kumbha a potential danger because, he had shown his interest in the affairs of Malwa by giving help to *Shahzada* 'Umar Khan, son of Hoshang Shah, against him [1] Besides, Rana Kumbha had by 1439 A D subjugated portions of Kanthal and Harauti which Mahmud could not allow to remain perpetually in the hands of his enemy. Kanthal and Harauti thus became a bone of contention between Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa and Rana Kumbha of Chittor. But Mahmud Khalji seems to have been very cautious. Even after his return from Sarguja from where he had secured a good deal of wealth and elephants and was camping in Harauti subjugating petty Rajputs chiefs, he did not risk war with Maharana Kumbha. It is after his return from his abortive attempt of occupying Dehli, that he launched his campaigns against Rana Kumbha. What materially altered the situation for Mahmud is a matter that needs examination.

After his return from the eastern campaigns when Mahmud was subjugating the petty chiefs of Harauti, Rana Kumbha was in his mind but he did not think of attacking Chittor. The contemporary historian Shihab Hakim says that Mahmud felt that it was not advisable to leave Malwa because if he marched into Mewar, Sultan Ahmad Gujarati would take the opportunity of invading Malwa But the real cause certainly was not this fear of Gujarati invasion, because Mahmud did undertake the still more ambitious expedition against Dehli. Thus the real cause seems to be his consciousness of Rana Kumbha's strength.

After his retrun from Dehli, which had been expensive and tiresome for the soldiers, he re-organised his army at Shadiabad Mandu and then marched out for the conquest of Chittor The altered situation has not been pointed out by Muslim historians, but from sources of Rajput history it can be easily

(*Continued from pre-page*)

utterly routed The Sultan fled and shut himself up in the fort of Mandu The Maharana's army followed up the victory and laid siege to Mandu ... Kumbha stormed and took the fort Ran Mal captured Sultan Mahmud Khalji, whose army fled in all directions The Maharana returned to Chittor bringing the Sultan captive with him "

This view that Rana Kumbha took Mahmud Khalji as captive has found so much currency among the historians of Rajasthan that it becomes necessary to examine it thoroughly and lay bare the hollowness of the claim See *Appendix* B.

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 327

deduced. After the murder of Mokul, Kumbha had ascended the throne in A.D. 1433 when he was still very young. Kumbha's younger brother Khem Karan, also remained in Chittor so long he was also young, but after he had grown up, he started demanding a jagir for himself. Rana Kumbha did not bear good feelings for Khem Karan, as he was his step-brother[1] and gave him a *jagir* after hesitation and trouble, which was not liked by Khem Karan Khem Karan then with his followers forcibly occupied Bari Sadri[2] But Kumbha could not tolerate his occupation of Sadri and sending his forces drove him out. Khem Karan thereupon retired to Malwa,[3] where he was welcomed by Mahmud Khalji as the latter expected to get valuable information and help from him[4] However the historians do not mention the date of Khem Karan's occupation of Sadri and his final expulsion from Sadri and arrival in Malwa But from the skeleton of facts it can be discerned. Ran Mal Rathor was murdered on Nov. 2, 1438 A D/1495 V.S.[5] When Khumbha was still very young,[6] and Khem Karan younger, Kumbha could not have taken an independent stand particularly when Ran Mal's strong hand was looking after the affairs of Mewar After Ran Mal's murder Rawat Chunda became busy in pursuing Jodha, son of Ran Mal. The occupation of Sadri by Khem Karan, therefore, should have taken place

1 *Vir Vinod*, II, p 1053, *Khyat*, I, p 93

2 *Vir Vinod*, II, p 1053

3 *Ibid*, II, p 1054

4 Ojha, *Partapgarh Rajya ka Itihas*, p 49, Ojha writes—

'क्षेम कर्ण के रुष्ट हो जाने पर सुल्तान ने महाराणा को चिढ़ाने एवं उसकी कमजोरियें का भेद पाने की दृष्टि से उसको अपने यहाँ रख लिया।"

5 Reu, *Marwar ka Itihas*, I, p 78 V S 1495 Kartik Badi 30/2nd November, 1438 A D.

In fn 2 Reu remarks—

"'वीर विनोद' में इस घटना का वि० सं० १५०० (ई० सन् १४४३) में होना लिखा है। परन्तु यह ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि राणपुर (गोडवाड़) के जैन मन्दिर से मिले वि० सं० १४९६ (ई० सन् १४३९) में महाराणा के लेख से उस समय के पूर्व ही मंडोर पर कुम्भाजी का अधिकार हो जाना सिद्ध होता है।"

Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 64, Asarh, S 1495/A D 1438, Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, I, p 598, fn 2

6 *Marwar ka Itihas*, Vol I, p 78, fn 1.

"उस समय कुम्भाजी की अवस्था हमारे मतानुसार केवल ११-१२ वर्ष की और राजपूताने के इतिहास के अनुसार १३-१४ वर्ष की थी।"

after 1438 A.D., perhaps in 1439 A.D. at the earliest[1] For a few years, Rawat Chunda seems to have taken the place of Ran Mal. But gradually Rana Kumbha began to assert himself and took matters of state in to his own hands[2] Thus by 1441 or 1442 A.D. Kumbha might have ordered the expulsion of Khem Karan, who then went to the court of Mahmud Khalji The arrival of Khem Karan in the court of Mahmud Khalji strengthened his position and also gave him a justifiable cause. Unlike Rawat Chunda and Ajja, Khem Karan was an enemy of Kumbha and to wrest his lost territories he was willing to take up arms against the ruler of Chittor. Khem Karan throughout his life remained an enemy of Kumbha, and with the help of Malwa Sultan caused a great deal of harm to Mewar.[3] Khem Karan thus had a full hand in the invasions of Mahmud over Chittor[4] Thus the answer to Mahmud Khalji's sudden decision to invade Chittor is to be found in the arrival of Khem Karan in his court, to whom the Sultan granted *jagirs* near Rampura Bhanpur situated on the borders of Mewar. The death of Sultan Ahmed Shah of Gujarat and the accession of Muhammad Shah who was a weak person also relieved him of fear from Gujarat

FIRST INVASION OF CHITTOR

After the Sultan was free from the marriage ceremony of his son which occupied the first twenty-two days of the month of *Rajab*, he directed his attention towards Rana Kumbha, and for that purpose started with a well-equipped army on 26th *Rajab* 846 A.H.[5]/30th Nov. 1442 A.D. Though Mahmud's real aim was to march into the kingdom of Chittor, when he started it appeared that he was going to Kalpi to punish Nasir *bin* 'Abdul Qadir. In his private meeting with the envoys of the Sultan of

[1] Gahlot, *Rajputane ka Itihas*, p 516
According to Gahlot, Khem Karan occupied Bari Sadri in 1494 V S /1437 A D.

[2] This inference I have been led to draw from the story of the appeal of Hansa Bai to Kumbha on behalf of Jodha who gave his indirect compliance and said that openly he could not help Jodha for fear of wounding Chunda's feelings, but if Jodha could take Mandor, he would not be molested
See, Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 71.

[3] *Khyat*, I, pp. 93-94.

[4] *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 1054

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 127b; *Firishta*, II, 487.

Jaunpur he told them that he was busy with the Chittor affair and the Sharqi Sultan could do with the Kalpi affair as he pleased. From Shadiabad Mandu, Sultan Mahmud marched straight to Sarangpur where he disposed of Khalil Khan and 'Ali Khan, the envoys of Nasir *bin* 'Abdul Qadir, by granting them audience and also giving them presents and stating to them that he had pardoned their chief. He then turned towards the territory of Kilwara[1] which was one of the strong centres of Rana Kumbha, and after continued marches, reached the borders of the territory of Rana Kumbha, and after crossing the Bitam[2] river he gave orders for the complete destruction of the countryside. While he directed his march towards the fort of Machhindarpur, he took every precaution against the enemy. During his march he followed the scorched earth policy, and at every halt he waited for three or four days to see that everything had been well destroyed and nothing was left which could be of use to Rana Kumbha. Marching in this way, he finally reached Machhindarpur fort, where the fugitives, of all the places destroyed by him, had taken shelter.

This fort of Machhindarpur as mentioned by Shihab Hakim is difficult to identify. According to Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, Mahmud had marched towards Kombhalmir, which is also mentioned by *Kaviraj* Shyamal Das.[3] Kombhalmir is in Kilwara and Mahmud had gone towards that side. It is therefore quite likely that Machhindarpur[4] was then the name of

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 127b.

"Kilwara is in the heart of the Aravali Hills, 25 7° N, 73 .36° E, about 2 miles south of Kumbhalgarh fort and 38 miles North of Udaipur city. It lies at the head of the Hathidara Nal or pass leading to Ghanerao in Jodhpur." Vide, *Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewar Residency*, Vol II-A, (1908) p. 117

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 128b Shihab Hakim clearly mentions it as being on the borders, *TA* III, p 324 and *Firishta*, II, p 487 say River Bhim, *Briggs*, IV p 208 has Bunas river.

This river cannot be the Bunas river which is far off It seems to be one of the tributaries of the Chambal

[3] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 324

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 129a

Shihab Hakim says that Ahmad Shah Gujarati had also invaded this fort of Machhindarpur, but could do no harm to it.

Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewar Residency, p 116 Erskine makes the following obervation. "The district takes its name from the well-known fort of

(*Continued on next page*)

the fort that existed in that territory and may be the same fort which was later rebuilt and strengthened by Rana Kumbha and given the name of Kumbhalgarh. Mahmud realised the invincibility of the fort and turned towards the temple situated near the fort, known as *Ban Mata* temple[1] and which was protected by fortifications. These fortifications were under Dip Singh[2] who defended it for seven days. When he fell fighting, the temple passed into the hands of Mahmud.[3]

After the destruction of the temple of *Ban Mata*, Mahmud turned towards Pankrah which was about four miles from this place, and gave orders for its plunder. Towards night fall he returned to his camp. At Pankrah he received information that Rana Kumbha had entered the fort of Chittor. He then decided to besiege the fort of Chittor and for this purpose divided the army into two sections. One section was sent towards Chittor and the other, under his personal command, was employed in

(Continued from pre-page)

Kumbhalgarh or Kumbhalmer built by Rana Kumbha between 1443 and 1458 on the site of a still more ancient castle which tradition ascribes to Samprati, a Jain prince of the second century B C It is situated in 25.°° N and 73 35° E about forty miles north of Udaipur city and stands on a rocky hill 3 568 feet above sea-level commanding a fine view of the wild rugged scenery of the Aravallis and the sandy deserts of Marwar "

1 *Vir Vinod*, I p 324; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 86. *Ban Mata* is the family deity of the Sisodias.

2 *Vir Vinod*, I, pp. 324-25, *T A* III, p 324, *Firishta*, II, p 487

3 *T A* III, pp 324, 325, *Firishta*, II, p 487

Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta mention that Mahmud caused the idols to be broken and given to the butchers to be used as weights for their scales for the sale of meat and the largest idol, that of a ram to be converted into lime, which was to be given with the *pan* leaf to the Rajputs, so that they should have to eat the object of their worship.

Surprisingly enough, while Shihab Hakim mentions, the destruction of the temple he does not mention anything about this conversion of the image into lime nor does he refer to Mahmud's intention of humiliating the Rajputs. Shihab Hakim's silence on this point only indicates that it is a later interpolation, because had it not been so Shihab Hakim certainly would have mentioned it as a praise-worthy deed of Sultan Mahmud

Besides, as pointed out, Sultan Mahmud had marched with Khem Karan and other Rajputs, and he was not the person to take any foolish step that might injure the feelings of the Rajputs The destruction of the temple had military bearing because it contained the store house of arms etc for the defence of the main fort and in fact it was a part of the defence though outwardly it had all the appearance of a temple.

ravaging Pankrah.[1] The place was so thoroughly destroyed that even fodder for the cattle was not left, and people of the locality fled to other places.

While from Machhindarpur Mahmud had decided to turn towards Chittor, he had summoned *A'zam Humayan Khan-i-Jahan* to subjugate the Rajputs in the region of Khanthal.[2] *A'zam Humayan* had arrived at Mandsore and was engaged in reducing the rebel chief Kalba, when he fell ill and died.[3] When the news was received by Mahmud, he immediately came to Mandsore in grief and sorrow.[4] Nizam-ud-Din[5] says that Mahmud out of grief tore his hair and dress. For some days Mahmud stayed at Mandsore and then made necessary arrangements for sending the body to Shadiabad. When the first shock was over, Mahmud realised that after all it was an inevitable end and all would have to face it; the work of this world must be carried out without hindrance. He made fresh appointments at Mandsore to conduct the military activities in the locality and appointed Taj Khan as in-charge of the affairs.[6]

After making necessary arrangements at Mandsore, Mahmud again turned towards Chittor and ravaged *Chaumuha*. As rainy season approached Mahmud retraced his steps and selected an elevated spot for his camp so that his army may be saved from flood etc. This was considered by Rana Kumbha as retreat and a sign of weakness, and on Friday the 25th *Zilhijja* 846/26th April 1443 A.D., he made a night attack with ten thousand horsemen and twenty-three thousand infantry, but the attack was repulsed.[7] However, from the narrative of Shihab Hakim it is obvious that Mahmud did not gain a decisive victory and it is quite likely that finding his position not very strong he returned to his capital Shadiabad declaring that he would invade Chittor the following year.[8] In the result of the battle remaining

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 129b
Pankrah, 4 miles from Machhindarpur.

[2] *T.A.* III, (Tr) p. 514; Nizam-ud-Din mentions the country about Shadiabad.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 130a, *Firishta*, II, p 488.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 130a-b

[5] *T.A.* III, p 325.

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 131a.

[7] *Ibid*, fol 132a; *Firishta*, II, p. 488 has, 10 thousand cavalry and 6 thousand infantry.

[8] *Firishta*, II, p 488.

indecisive Rajputana historians claim a victory for Rana Kumbha[1] just as the Muslim historians claim a victory for Mahmud.

Mahmud seems to have realised that the problem of Mewar was one which could not be solved easily. He, therefore, decided to subjugate such petty Rajput principalities over which Kumbha had established his suzerainty after his accession. Mahmud's policy was therefore to weaken Kumbha, and at the same time to extend Malwa suzerainty Of these principalities first of all he thought of Gagraun which was a strong centre of Khichi Chauhans and over which Hoshang Shah had once established his authority

This fort of Gagraun had been conquerred by Hoshang Shah from Achaldas Khichi and had been placed under Prince Ghazni Khan who had further strengthened the fortifications by throwing up more ramparts and bastions and by extending the walls to the Sindh river. After Ghazni Khan, Sultan Mahmud had placed the fort under Badar Khan and on his death in battle against Ahmad Gujarati, the fort was placed under Dilshad. However, Palhan Singh[2] Khichi had succeeded in reconquering it. Sultan Mahmud was then busy in quelling internal disturbances and in the consolidation of his kingdom and, therefore, had postponed its reconquest.

CONQUEST OF GAGRAUN

Sultan Mahmud decided to conquer the fort of Gagraun on 2nd *Sha'ban* 847 A H [3]/25-11-1443 A.D. Before actually proceeding towards Gagraun, he sent 'Ali Khan as envoy to Mahmud Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur, requesting him to restore Khan Jahan *ibn* Qadir Shah to Kalpi He also gave orders that a proper calculation of whatever damage was done to the agricultural crops during his march be recorded and full compensation be paid to the cultivators for their loss He then started towards Gagraun

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 325

[2] Balhan of *Ma'thir-i-Mahmudshahi* is same as Palhan Palhan Singh was the son of Achal Das Khichi of Gagraun and had gone out before the final *Jauhar* when the fort was captured by Hoshang Shah See, *Achaldas khichi-ri-Vachanika*, pp 34 *et seq*; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 199

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 132b, gives the date as 2nd *Sha'ban* 846 A H , but it should be 847 A H , because he returned from his first expedition against Rana Kumbha in the month of *Zilhijja* as pointed out earlier

Zafar-ul-walih, p. 199 says, Mahmud reached Gagraun on *Rajab* 26, 847 / 19-11-1443

and pitched his tents on the banks of the river Ahuti[1] in the vicinity of Gagraun on 13th *Shawwal* 847 A H., 3-2-1444 A.D

From the banks of the river Ahuti, Sultan Mahmud pushed on further and came by the Sind river and closed all access to the fort.[2] Palhan Singh, during the period of his occupation had not neglected the affairs of the fort and as Shihab Hakim says, he had stored enough provisions to last his army for seven years.[3] Palhan Singh also sought the help of Rana Kumbha as well as of other local chiefs. The Rajput chiefs of the locality, realising the danger to which they were exposed and becoming conscious that the fall of Gagraun fort would be a signal for the end of their independence,[4] helped Palhan with men and material. Rana Kumbha also sent military help under Dahir which consisted of, besides other things, two "*Kaman Ra'd*" (a kind of catapult) which threw a stone boulder a maund in weight to a distance of one arrow shot.

Fighting started immediately on Mahmud's reaching the outskirts of the fort and the Rajputs caused some damage to his army but after the battle had lasted for seven days Dahir was killed. The death of Dahir unnerved Palhan, who now thought of escaping from the fort but in his attempt to do it, he met a group of Bhils, who killed him.[5] The death of Palhan practically ended the battle, and the inmates of the fort performed the *Jauhar*. The fort of Gagraun was thus finally conquered by Mahmud Khalji, and a large booty fell into his hands. The Sultan performed the thanks-giving ceremony and distributed money and robes to his soldiers. After the occupation of Gagraun, Sultan Mahmud deputed his eldest son, Muhammad *i e* Ghiyath Shah, with a large army to conquer and subjugate Harauti from *Qasba* Baranda Lona.[6] The fall of Gagraun was

[1] Ahuti or Ahoo river is a tributary of the Sindh and Gagraun is situated almost on the junction of these two rivers.

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 135b, 12th *Shawwal* is the date given for the arrival of Mahmud on the banks of the Sindh, but on fol 134a, 13th *Shawwal* is the date given for Sultan's march and arrival by the bank of the Ahoo river.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol 135b The seven years must be an exaggeration but it certainly indicates that Palhan Singh had taken sufficient precaution against a possible attack.

[4] *Ibid*, fol 135b

[5] *Ibid*, fols 137a-b; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 199, does not speak of the death of Palhan and mentions that Dahr was killed during the *Jauhar*.

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 138b

a signal for the fall of smaller forts round about the region and, as Shihab Hakim says, people from twenty-four forts evacuated them in great panic and all these forts passed into the hands of Sultan Mahmud.[1]

Thus Mahmud succeeded in subjugating Khichiwara and as his plans were to subjugate not only Khichiwara but Harauti situated to its north as well, the conquest and control of Gagraun which commanded a very strong position, was absolutely necessary. Mahmud gave orders for the restoration of the fortifications of Gagraun and also for further strengthening it and re-named it Mustafabad.[2] The occupation of Gagraun thus established his authority in the locality.[3] But Sultan Mahmud also knew that Rana Kumbha, who was equally interested in establishing his authority in the locality, would not quietly accept his occupation of Gagraun He, therefore, from Gagraun, turned his attention towards Mandalgarh which was a strong outpost on the borders of Harauti.

MANDALGARH

Turning his attention towards Mandalgarh, Sultan Mahmud arrived on the bank of the Banas river at a distance of two *karoh* from Mandalgarh, where fighting started immediately with the soldiers of Rana Kumbha. It seems that after the fighting had lasted three days, some negotiations for a peace settlement took place. From the account of Shihab Hakim we find that from the side of Rana Kumbha, Jeetarmal and Teja Purohit and a few other courtiers were sent and from the side of Sultan Mahmud, *Mansur-ul-Mulk*, *'Ariz Chashm* Mansur and Malik Ilias *Sarpardadar* were deputed to discuss the terms of the peace. It is difficult to ascertain the terms that were actually discussed. Shihab Hakim of course says that they (Kumbha's deputies) agreed to pay one lakh of *tankas* on condition of Sultan Mahmud's return from the place.[4] However the negotiations do not seem to have materialised and the manner in which the

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 130a

[2] *Zafar-ul-walih* p. 199; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*. fol. 138b.

[3] Shihab Hakim mentions a very interesting incident; according to him, when Rana Kumbha heard about the fall of Gagraun, he said that Mahmud should not consider it a great achievement, because this much of territory he gives to Brahmans and Bhats.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 139b.

entire thing is summed up by Shihab Hakim, indicates that all was not well for Sultan Mahmud. Rana Kumbha also did not get any advantage, because had he succeeded in defeating Mahmud he would certainly have followed his victory by forcing or attempting to drive out Mahmud from Harauti and Khichiwara.

Shihab Hakim says that the Sultan ordered that "as the hot season has set in and the rainy reason is fast approaching and though this return Kumbha may boast as his victory, God willing I shall return next year and give him a proper punishment."[1] However from the guarded language of Shihab Hakim, it appears that odds were against Mahmud, and though he might not have been actually defeated, he must have realised that victory then was not possible, and acting on the principle of discretion as the better part of valour, he returned to his capital, where, after some time, he got himself engaged in settling the affairs of Kalpi and Jaunpur.

SECOND ATTEMPT OF MAHMUD

The Sultan again marched towards Harauti and Ranthambhor on 20th *Rajab* 850 A H 2/11-10-1446 A D. When he reached Ranthambhor, he made new arrangements because he felt that Bahar Khan, who had been given charge of Ranthambhor, was not competent enough to check the strong forces of Dungar Sen of Gwalior, and Ranthambhor being an important place, its loss would be prejudicial to his interests. He, therefore, ' transferred Bahar Khan and appointed Malik Saif-ud-din and ordered him to strengthen the fort and make efforts for its protection against enemies. He ordered Taj Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan and Ghalib Khan to march towards Alhanpur,[3] which was in the vicinity of Ranthambhor so that they may collect *khidmati* from the *muqaddams* and subjects of *vilayat* Boli and Panchwara and other *mauzas*, and bring them under control.

The Sultan then marched next morning towards Mandalgarh. When he reached the vicinity of Mandalgarh, he found that the

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 140a

2 *Ibid*, fol 156a

3 *Ibid*, fol. 157b

Though Mahmud had reduced Gagraun and occupied Ranthambhor he felt that unless Ranthambhor was properly protected from surrounding territories it would always remain open to the onslaught of the Rajputs from the side of Gwalior in the east and Mewar in the west

fort was situated on a hill and surrounded by hilly regions and dense forests, so he pitched his tents on the bank of the river Banas.[1] For the first two days, the battle remained indecisive. On the third day, the king appointed Ghazi Khan to attack the enemy and when Kumbha found that the battle may end in defeat, he sent a large sum of money for army expenses and sued for peace[2] Sultan's men also said that it was very hot so he should accept the money and return and the king did likewise. A close examination of this statement of Shihab Hakim, however, clearly indicates that Mahmud was not victorious. The statement that Kumbha sent a large sum of money because he was sure of defeat seems to be an exaggeration. We find that Mahmud's aim was conquest of Mandalgarh and if victory was sure why did he accept the money, and where was the need of the Sultan's men to request him to accept the money and return. However, the claim of the historians[3] of Rajputana that Mahmud was defeated is equally an exaggeration, because if Kumbha had been victorious he certainly would have pursued Mahmud Khalji at least a few stages The real situation therefore seems to be, that the issue remained undecided, and may be with advantages on the side of Kumbha, and Mahmud thought it expedient to return.

After returning from Mandalgarh, he spent some time in Dhar[4] as mentioned by Shihab Hakim, that in 851 A H /1447-48 A.D. the Sultan spent some time in collecting forces and setting things ready for an expedition After the preparations were complete, he sent an army in advance of him. This army crossing the Manjar Pass destroyed Badalhana[5] and its territories, and rejoined the forces of the Sultan who had by that

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 158a, *Firishta*, II, p 491

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 159a, *Firishta*, II, p 491

[3] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 325

Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp 87-88 Sarda says, "To retrieve this fresh disaster, Mahmud set about preparing another army, and four years later, on 20th *Rajab*, 850 /Kartik Badi 6th, S 1503 /11 October 1446 A D., he went towards Mandalgarh with a large army Reaching Rampura he appointed Malik Saifuddin as governor there in place of Bahadur and moved further. The Maharana's army attacked him while he was crossing the river Banas, and having defeated him, drove him back to Mandu For about 10 years after this defeat, Mahmud Khalji did not venture to take the offensive against the Maharana "

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 159a

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 159b

time also advanced a number of stages. Mahmud then sent *Shahzada* Fidan Khan towards Gwalior. Dungar Sen of Gwalior fought bravely and the Malwa army could not force a decision.[1] Sultan Mahmud advanced and joined the forces of Fidan Khan but the fort of Gwalior could not be reduced The real aim of Mahmud was in different direction; he, therefore, instead of besieging the fort, turned away, but as the men of Dungar Sen started harassing the army, he had to wait and push them back to their shelter. Turning from Gwalior, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Agra[2] and crossing the river Chambal, besieged Agra. Mughla, the commander of the fort, collected the people inside the fortification and next day, while he sent some *khidmati* to Mahmud Khalji, he also informed him that as he (Mughla) was servant of another master, he would not be able to hand over the fort to him (Sultan Mahmud) Besides, he also informed him that Agra was only a small place but if he would spare him and proceed towards Bayana, he strongly believed that Muhammad Khan, the governor of Bayana, would submit to him. Sultan Mahmud accepted the version of Mughla and turned towards Bayana.

Bayana once had been a stronghold of the Rajputs, but the Sultans of Dehli had soon recognised its importance and converted it into a strong outpost of theirs. Situated in Karauli it occupied a very strategic position commanding the route to Dehli, the Doab and Mewar. It was the key to Rajputana To Mahmud Khalji, who was pressing hard against Chittor, Bayana, therefore, had a special attraction [3]

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmud Shahi*, fol 160a

[2] Firishta and Nizam-ud-Din have not mentioned Sultan Mahmud's march on Gwalior and Agra. According to them, the Sultan marched straight to Bayana. Shihab Hakim however has mentioned Mahmud's movements before actually reaching the vicinity of Bayana

[3] "Bayana lies on the left bank of the Gambir river, about 50 miles (may be 47 miles) as the bird flies, or about 65 miles by the road, to the West-South-West from Agra It is situated at the foot of a south-eastern salient angle of a massive and precipitous range of granite hills, which are in reality not detached hills, but constitute simply one immense elevated granite table-land, the upper surface or summit of which forms with a few exceptions a sort of undulating plateau "

"The fortress of *Vijayamandar Garh*, the ancient name of which was *Santipur*, is situated on a precipitous spur at the western extremity of the same range, and about 6 miles west of Baianah This ancient and extensive fortress had

(*Continued on next page*)

MAHMUD'S AUTHORITY OVER BAYANA

Saiyid Muhammad Khan, the governor of Bayana, had a special grudge against the Saiyid rulers of Dehli. He had been deprived of his *jagir* of Bayana by Mubarak Shah.[1] Yusuf Khan Auhadi who was in charge of Hindaun, was also interested in seizing Bayana. The period of disturbances following the assassination of Mubarak Shah had weakened the kingdom of Dehli, and Muhammad Khan seems to have succeeded in re-occupying Bayana during this period. The accession of of 'Alauddin had further weakened Dehli, where there was Afghan ascendancy. Thus while Yusuf Khan Hindauni and Muhammad Khan wanted to remain independent in their respective territories, their condition was precarious, being surrounded by the Rajputs and left without help from Dehli. To them, therefore, Mahmud Khalji was the only shelter and source of protection, and to whom they were ever ready to offer their allegiance As for Mahmud Khalji there could be hardly any opportunity more suitable for establishing his authority over this place of strategic importance.

Thus from Agra when Mahmud Khalji turned towards Bayana and arrived in its vicinity at a distance of two *farsaks*,[2] Muhammad Khan the governor of the place sent his son Auhad Khan with a tribute of one lakh *tankas* and one hundred and one horses[3] to wait on Sultan Mahmud. Mahmud Khalji readily accepted this submission of Muhammad Khan and honoured Auhad Khan with a special robe of honour and while permitting him to return to his father, the Sultan sent through him a gold embroidered robe, a head-dress decorated with gems, a

(*Continued from pre-page*)
been considerably added to, at various periods, in later times, by both Muhammadans and the Jats, successively, but the original Hindu fortress was of very ancient foundation indeed."

Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol VI, p 50 Note by A C L Carlleyle.

[1] *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, pp 210, 213, *TA*. I, pp 278-79.

For the genealogy of Auhadi family see *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (Cunningham), Vol. XX, p 65.

[2] *TA* III, p 330, *Firishta*. II, p 491

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 161a, *TA*. III, p 330, has one hundred horses, *Firishta*, II, p. 491 (1 lakh *tankas* and hundred horses)

According to Cunningham's genealogical table, the name of the son should be Da'ud Khan Auhadi

gold belt and horses with saddles and bridles adorned with gold. Muhammad Khan, in return, appeared before his subjects in the robe sent by the Khalji Sultan and caused the *Khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in the name of Mahmud Khalji.[1] Mahmud Khalji after securing the allegiance of the governor of Bayana turned and, on his way, captured Alhanpur[2] which was situated near Ranthambhor, and placed it under Farid Khan[3]

He then reacherd *Shahi-i-Nau* and finding that the people of the place were in great difficulty he caused a few thousand *tankas* cash and a few thousand maunds of grain to be distributed[4] While Mahmud Khalji was at *Shahi-i-Nau*, he received an application from Yusuf Khan Hindauni about the enmity that had been shown to him by Muhammad Khan and Auhad Khan of Bayana[5] Mahmud Khalji gave 20 thousands *tankas* to Yusuf Khan.

Mahmud Khalji then sent another letter to Yusuf Khan Hindauni wherein he mentioned that he had already asked Muhammad Khan to behave properly and hoped that he would do so, but if Muhammad continued with his misbehaviour he would return after the rainy season and give him such punishment as would be a lesson to others. But Mahmud Khalji also reminded Yusuf Khan that he should also remain within his limits According to Shihab Hakim, he further added, "As this very year I am intending to invade Chittor you should keep yourself safe in your place"[6]

CONQUEST OF AJMER

Sometime in 859 A H /1455 A.D.[7] Sultan Mahmud marched to Mandsor from where he started sending punitive expeditions into various directions such as Harauti, Chhappan, Toda Bhim etc., and regularly received information of the success of his generals. While Mahmud Khalji was thus engaged at Mandsor he received a petition from the Muslim residents of Ajmer against the

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 161b. *T A* III, p 330; *Firishta*, II, p 491.
[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 161b; *T A* III p 336, *Firishta*, II, p 491
[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 161b
[4] *Ibid*, fol 161a, *Firishta*, II, p 491.
[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 162b
[6] *Ibid*, fol 162b
[7] *T A* III, p 337, *Firishta*, II, p 495
Shihab Hakim has not mentioned the date of Mahmud's march to Mandsor.

Hindu governor of Ajmer. To Mahmud who was always ready to utilize any opportunity offered to him to enhance his political prestige, it was an offer by the dissatisfied Muslim population which would make its conquest easier.

Ajmer occupied a position of great strategical importance, situated at the highest elevation in the plains, it was considered as the vantage point from where Rajput powers of Rajasthan could be checked. Ever since the occupation of Dehli by the Turks, Ajmer was considered as the most important place. From the religious point of view it had a sanctity for both the Hindus and the Muslims. The close proximity to Pushkar made it important for the Hindus, and the tomb of *Shaikh* Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, endeared it to Muslim sentiments During the disturbances following the invasion of Timur and because of the involvement of the Sayid Sultans in settling their affairs in the capital and also those of their recalcitrant chiefs, Rao Ran Mal Rathor of Mandor, the maternal uncle of Rana Mokal, had seized it and restored it to the ruler of Mewar [1]

On the basis of Jodhpur Khyat, Harbilas Sarda has narrated the occupation of Ajmer as follows "Acting on the advice of Pancholi Khemsi, Ran Mal sent him with a picked force of Rathors to take Ajmer Under the pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his men into that renowned fortress, the ancient stronghold of the Chauhans, putting the Dehli garrison to the sword. Salim Shah, the governor of Multan who had gone on pilgrimage to Ajmer, was killed by the Rajputs. Khemsi was rewarded with the grant of the township of Khatoo, then lately captured from the Kaimkhanees."[2]

According to Sarda, Mahmud's expedition into Mandsor was only a pretence to divert the attention of the Maharana, and that he had received the representation of the Muslims of Ajmer before he had started for Mandsor [3] But according to Muslim historians, Mahmud had gone for the subjugation of Mandsor, when he received the petition.[4] Maharana Kumbha could not neglect the regions near his own borders to help the governor of Ajmer and thereby made the task of Mahmud Khalji easier.

[1] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 90, *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive*, p 149
[2] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, pp 90-91
[3] *Ibid*, p 91
[4] *TA* III, p 338, *Firishta*, II, p 495, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 198b

Marching from Mandsor, Mahmud Khalji arrived at Ajmer and encamped opposite the tomb of *Khwaja* Mu'in-ud-din,[1] and prayed for the blessings of the Saint. The fort was then surveyed by the *bakhshi* and batteries were distributed Gajadhar Singh, the commandant of the fort came out and attacked the Malwa forces, but was defeated and he retired into the fort Fighting, however, continued for four days[2] and on the fifth day Gajadhar Singh again came out with his men and attacked the besiegers, but was killed in the battle.[3] Some of the Malwa soldiers got mixed with the body of the Rajput soldiers who were fleeing into the interior of the fort and thus entered the fort They then opened the gates and the fort was captured.[4] Mahmud Khalji performed the rites of offering thanks to God, attained to the honour of circumambulating the grave of the great Saint; and made plans for the erection of a grand mosque Mahmud Khalji then made arrangements for the preservation of the fort. He conferred the title of Saif Khan on *Khwaja* Na'imullah and entrusted the management of the fort to his charge He made the attendants of the holy place happy by bestowing rewards and stipends on them [5]

ATTACK ON MANDALGARH

After settling the affairs of Ajmer, Mahmud Khalji turned towards Mandalgarh sometime in 850 A.H /1456 A.D , and pitched his camp by the southern bank of the Banas river He nominated *amirs* to different points round the fort. Rana Kumbha (at this time he seems to have been in the fort) also divided his army into three detachments and attacked Mahmud Khalji The divisions of Malwa army under Taj Khan and 'Ali Khan were hard-pressed and a severe battle was fought in which a large number of soldiers of both the sides were killed and in the evening both sides retired to their respective camps.

In the morning, the *amirs* and *wazirs* of Mahmud collected in the royal pavilion and submitted that because of constant fighting, the army had sustained much damage, and that rainy season was also approaching; therefore, it would be better to retire to Shadiabad and after proper rest and re-equipment of the army

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 199b, *Firishta*, II, p 496
2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 220a
3 *Ibid* , fol 200b
4 *Firishta*, II, p 496 5 *Ibid*

next year the attempt should be made to capture the fort. Mahmud agreed to the proposal and returned to Shadiabad.[1]

This return of Mahmud has been explained by Sarda as a great victory won by Rana Kumbha. According to him, "As Mahmud approached the river Banas, the Maharana's army came out of the fort and fell upon the Sultan, who sustained a severe defeat and fled to Mandu."[2] Sarda's main contention in maintaining that Mahmud was defeated and fled to Mandu is based on the suggestion of Briggs that "the drawn battle mentioned by Malwa historians must be deemed a defeat more specially as the ruinous state of camp equipment would hardly justify the abandonment of a campaign though it might require the army to halt for a season till they were renewed" Briggs further contends that the victory tower commemorating Kumbha's victory was built about this time, to commemorate this victory.[3] But the error of Briggs has been rightly pointed out by Baini Prasad and De,[4] that "there is very little similarity between this battle and the victory claimed by the Rajputs. According to Rajput Annals, the victory took place in 1440 A.D while the date of this battle was 1455 or 1456 A D., 15 or 16 years later."

From the account of Shihab Hakim[5] we can only find that Mahmud was finding it difficult to conquer the fort at that time, besides, the approach of rainy season was really a danger because the ravines etc. would get flooded and would certainly have caused serious damage to his army But to say that Maharana Kumbha gained a great victory would also be an exaggeration, because if Kumbha had gained a victory, why did he remain satisfied with the safety of Mandalgarh alone The territories of Harauti which had been subdued by Mahmud Khalji earlier should certainly have attracted his attention Besides, the recent reduction of Ajmer too should have attracted his notice, and with Mahmud's defeat Maharana Kumbha certainly could have regained Ajmer The reason for this inactivity of Rana Kumbha in these directions indicates that he had saved Mandalgarh, but he certainly had not inflicted a severe defeat on Mahmud

[1] *TA.* III, p 339, (Tr) p 529, *Firishta*, II, p 496

[2] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 92

[3] *Briggs*, IV, p 223 fn

[4] *TA* III, (Tr) p 429, fn 2

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 159a

and, therefore, did not dare venture an expedition either in Harauti or towards Ajmer. The battle thus was not a decisive one, and the issue remaining undecided, he could not exactly understand the meaning or extent of Mahmud's withdrawal on this occasion

CONQUEST OF MANDALGARH (861 A H /A.D. 1456-57)

Mahmud had failed twice in his attempt to conquer Mandalgarh, but in the meantime he had succeeded in establishing his authority over Bayana, Hindaun, Bundi, Kotah and Ranthambhor, the last of which had been placed under his son *A'zam Humayun* Fidan Khan and which served as a strong base in the region. By the end of 860 A H / Oct -Nov 1456 A D Mahmud Khalji had completed his work in the region and was ready to launch another attack on Mandalgarh On 26th of *Muharram* 861 A H /24-12-1456 A D [1] he set out for the conquest of Mandalgarh. When he reached the vicinity of Mewar territory, armies from other parts of his kingdom also joined him [2] Mahmud seems to have marched through the territories which belonged to Mewar as we find that he ordered his army to destroy whatever came in the way including cultivated fields and temples Such orders Mahmud gave whenever he marched through the territories of the enemy, with a desire to impress upon the minds of those who suffered that their ruler was incapable of protecting their lives, property and religion From his previous attacks Mahmud had acquired full knowledge about the inaccessibility of the fort which was not only situated on a hill but was surrounded by rugged stony land and dense vegetation. He, therefore, first

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 210b, *T A* III, p 339, *Firishta* II, p. 496; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 203

[2] *T A* III, p 339 According to Nizam-ud-Din, "armies of Nagore, Ajmer and Harauti joined him" But Nagore was not a part of Malwa kingdom, similarly Ajmer, though under Mahmud, too could not possibly have sent any army for the assistance of Mahmud unless of course, it means that Mahmud had left some forces at Ajmer which now returned and joined him

Shihab Hakim, however, says that when Mahmud marched on Mandalgarh he had already reduced Nagore, Ajmer (Sambher) Tuda Ghiyathgir, Jatsu (Chatsu), Ranthambhor and Harauti which had been territories of the *Kafirs*, but he does not mention any army from these places coming and joining him It is, however, not unlikely that the Hadas of Bundi might have joined Mahmud to avenge their previous defeat and loss of Mandalgarh which had been wrested away from them by Rana Kumbha

pitched his tents at a distance of one *karoh*[1] on the eastern side of the fort.

From this base Mahmud conducted a personal survey of the fort and discovered a high hill on the western side which was heavily covered with jungle and was extremely rough and difficult to ascend, but commanded a vantage point for attacking the fort and also for pitching his tents He, therefore, gave orders for clearing the foliage and cutting through the rocks, to prepare a passage to the top of the hill[2] During this process of preparing the road, skirmishes took place but Mahmud kept enough soldiers to engage the Rajputs who sallied out of the fort so as to leave those who were preparing the passage undisturbed He finally succeeded in pitching his tents at the hill top and when properly placed he started the siege and gave orders to surround the fort from all sides[3] so as to leave no passage to the fort free of access *Manjaniks* were placed and eight *maghribis* were set up on eight sides of the fort, he also brought into use *manjanik-i-rakabi* for striking and damaging the foundations of the fortification walls[4] The Rajputs too had *manjaniks* inside the fort with which they kept the attacking party at bay and also caused heavy damages to the parties which approached near the wall. The siege thus continued. During the course of the fighting, however, it so happened that stones thrown by the *manjanik* from outside struck the best *manjanik* inside the fort and rendered them useless for service[5] It caused great joy to the besiegers as it was a source of constant trouble to them. Still, the besieged put up a determined defence of the fort and whatever little damage could be effected to the walls was at once repaired by them, and the strength of the fort stood them well, till the constant attack with *matin* and *zopin* caused a wide breach in the walls of the outer fortifications. This breach caused great confusion amongst the inmates of the fort in their attempt to take shelter in the inner fort.[6]

Mahmud discovered that there was a water reservoir (*Hauz*)

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 202a Shihab Hakim says that the fort was very strong and though Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Khalji had avoided attacking it, Mahmud decided to conquer it

[2] *Ibid*, fol 202b

[3] *Ibid*, fol 204a

[4] *Ibid*, fol 205a

[5] *Ibid*, fol 205b

[6] *Ibid*, fols 206a-b It was during this period that *Shaikh* Nur-ul-Haq returned from *Haj* and came to see the Sultan in his camp

in the fort which was a great source of strength to the besieged who could well afford to let the siege to continue, and if by any means it could be damaged the water shortage might lead to hasty surrender of the fort. Accordingly he gave orders to attack the dams of the reservoir, which was breached and all the water escaped out it, and whatever little water was left in it that too was polluted with refuse etc. so as to render it useless [1] The water shortage caused great anxiety to the inmates Mahmud in the meantime gave orders for filling in a portion of the ditch round the outer wall so as to make access to the walls easy and also to allow the army to enter the fort [2] When the ditch was filled, the besieged sallied out of the inner fort with determination and a hotly contested battle was fought A number of Rajputs fought to the last, but some others submitted and paid ten lacs of *tankas* as *khidmati* and surrendered the keys of the fort Thus the fort was finally conquered on 1st *Zilhijja* 861 A H /20-10-1457.[3]

Sultan Mahmud allowed them to evacuate the fort without further trouble and also released those who had been taken captive after they had paid the *baha* He then entered the fort on 6th of *Zilhijja* and destroyed the old temple inside the fort and with its material built a mosque in its place.[4] He then appointed

[1] *Ma athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 206b, *T A* III, p 340, *Firishta*, II, p 497

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 207b, 208a

Shihab Hakim incidentally mentions the following weapons which were used in the siege *Tir-i-Taksha, Atish-i-Nafi, Nafi Hawai, Sang-i-Manjanik, Ghulula Kaman Rad, Kaman Charkh*

[3] *Ibid*, fol 209a, *Vir Vinod*, I, p 331 *Kaviraj* Shyamal Das is of the opinion that Mandalgarh was conquered in 860 A H /1456 A D /1513 V S

[4] *T.A* III, p 340, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 210a

Shihab Hakim has described the temple and its beauty in detail and with appreciation,

بر عزم انهدام بتکدهٔ بزرگ که ذکر بنای آن در کتب
تواریخ هنود مسطور و در دفاتر اخبار نگار مسهور است ، بر
نقرهٔ خنگ سم ——— سوار سد ——— بنای این بخانه که
دست رفعت در کمر دو پیکر زده و پایهٔ تفوق بر فرق
فرقدان نهاده بوده ، بسطت طول و عرضش سر از قسمت بساط

(*Continued on next page*)

a *qazi*, a *mufti*, a *muhtasib*, a *khatib* and a *muazzin* and fixed their stipends. Thus after making full arrangements and being satisfied with the accomplishment of his long cherished desire, he turned to other directions.

The destruction of temple and erection of mosque was more symbolical of occupation on permanent footing, an expression of the change that had taken place, than an outcome of religious zeal.

The conquest and occupation of Mandalgarh by Mahmud Khalji[1] raises a very important question. What was Rana Kumbha doing during the siege and conquest of Mandalgarh? The siege had lasted for a fairly long period of more than ten months,[2] and we find that during this period of the siege Maharana Kumbha neither appeared on the scene personally nor sent any force for the relief of the besieged, because had he done so, the court historian Shihab Hakim would have dilated on it and would have praised Sultan Mahmud all the more for his victory.

(Continued from pre-page)

زمین یافته و ساحت رفعتش بست در عرصهٔ بسیط آورده عمارات صنع ایوان کیوان منزلتش از طاق سپهر مقرنس بر گذشته و صنائع اصنام بدی نیکر او که با بتخانهٔ چرخ مقوس هم سری جسته در هر صلع بتان آذری بر جلوه در آمده و در هر زاویه معبود دیو دری به تیسهٔ پیکر نگار از احجار فیمتی تصویر پزیرفته ـ از غایت لطافت عکس هر بتی سطح زمین آئینه کردارش چون عکس صور در آب نمودار باسد ـ

1 Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 104, Sarda however maintains that Mahmud did not conquer the fort and says, "Though he made several attempts he was neither able to recover the territory previously conquered and joined to Mewar by Maharana Kumbha nor to conquer any part of Maharana's country."

It is really surprising that against such a vast evidence found in the Persian sources, Sarda contends that Mahmud did not conquer Mandalgarh and that too without giving any positive proof in support of his view

2 Mahmud had started on 26th of *Muharram* 861/24th Dec. 1456 A D. and had conquered the fort on 1st *Zhuja* 861 A H /20th Oct 1457 A D

However, in connection with events following the conquest of Mandalgarh, he says Rana Kumbha did not take any measure of protection[1] because he felt the country as too difficult for the enemy attacks to be effective. Of course such a statement only betrays ignorance on the part of Shihab Hakim.

The year 861 A H /1456-57 A.D. was really a critical year for Maharana Kumbha. No doubt Rana Kumbha was a great ruler and warrior but in order to properly appreciate his achievements we must also examine the problems that beset him. Besides the two powerful Muslim kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa, the petty Rajput chiefs, either his neighbours or his feudatories, were a constant source of trouble to him. The ruler of Sirohi was seeking the help of Gujarati Sultan Qutb-ud-din to recover Abu which had been conquered by Rana Kumbha.[2] The Hadas of Bundi, from whom Rana Kumbha had taken away Mandalgarh and who had accepted the suzerainty of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, were bitter enemies of the Rana. The disputed succession at Nagaur between Shams Khan, son of Firuz Khan, and Mujahid Khan, brother of Firuz Khan, had involved Rana Kumbha in Nagaur.[3] Though he had initial success when Shams Khan was installed in Nagaur with his help, it soon led to complication. Shams Khan had refused to fulfil the agreements which he had undertaken in return for the help of the Rana, and when Rana used force, Shams Khan left for Gujarat and brought Sultan Qutb-ud-din against the Rana

We gather from *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*[4] that Sultan Qutb-ud-din was attacking Mewar from 860 A H /1456 A D. for reinstating Shams Khan in Nagaur and in 861 A H./1456-57 A D. Qutb-ud-din attacked Kumbha when Mahmud Khalji also invaded and reached Mandsor. Thus we find Rana Kumbha involved against Gujarat and Malwa in 861 A H./1456-57 A D. But that was not all. The Rathor menace to Rana Kumbha also reached its peak during this period. The Rathor ascendancy in Chittor had reached its zenith with the murder of Raghavadeva by Ran Mal Rathor. But the Rathor domination could not endure and soon

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 211a

2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 83, *T A* III, pp. 130 & 132, Ojha, *Sirohi Rajya ka Itihas*, pp 197 *et seq*, *Vir Vinod*, I, p 332

3 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp. 82 & 83 See also *Bayley*, p 148 and fn

4 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 84.

Raghavdeva's blood was avenged by the murder of Ran Mal. Jodha, son of Ran Mal, who was in Chittor at the time of his father's murder escaped[1] with his life and started a career of roving from place to place in Rajputana, burning with a desire to avenge his father's death and reconquer Mandor which was his ancestral home. Jodha, thus became an avowed enemy of Rana Kumbha If Khem Karan, the younger brother of Rana Kumbha, was causing damage to Chittor by helping the ruler of Malwa in his raids on Chittor, Jodha was causing no less damage to Chittor by his repeated attacks on its various *thanas* and occupying gradually bits of the territory and thereby building up his power and consolidating his belongings

The power of Jodha gradually increased so much that in 1510 V S /1453 A D /857 A H , he finally succeeded in occupying Mandor [2] Victory at Mandor was soon followed by occupation of Sojat,[3] which took place sometime in 1511 V S /1454 A D /858 A H. Jodha remained at Sojat for about two years [4] During this period Jodha became so powerful that he not only captured Bhairunde, a frontier *thana* of Rana Kumbha towards Ajmer, but also made an attack on Chittor itself [5] It was after these incidents that Jodha made a grand preparation and marched towards Chittor which according to the above noted dates should

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 322 Kaviraj Shyamaldas mentions that a 'dom' in the service of Ran Mal gave the signal to Jodha from the walls of the fortress in the following verse,

चूँडा अजमल अखिया, माढ़ँ हुँ धक अ'ग ।
जोधा रथमल मारिया, भाग सके तो भाग ॥

Khyat, I, p 28, mentions that Jodha's life too was in danger and Ran Mal had instructed him not to come into the fort even if called and to remain in the *'talets'* or foot of the fort

[2] Ojha, *Rajputana ka Itihas*, IV, p 239, Reu, *Marwar ka Itihas*, I, p 87

In this conquest of Mandor, two sons of Chunda, Kuntal and Sua, were killed Mandor was conquered by Jodha after fighting, and not that he succeeded in occupying it with the connivance of Kumbha

[3] *Tod*, II, p 14

[4] *Dayaldas ki Khyat, op cit* Ojha, IV, part I, p 239, fn. 3

[5] Reu, *Marwar ka Itihas*, I, p 90 Reu says, according to Khyat, Jodha attacked Chittor during night, burnt the gate of the fort, plundered the villages of Mewar and raided the country upto *Pichhola Talab*, and while returning took Seth Padma Chand of Mewar as captive

Reu says that the Seth paid ransom on reaching Khairwa for his release, and the construction of the fort of Jodhpur was started with this money.

have taken place sometime towards the end of 1456 A.D. or the beginning of 1457 A.D. Rana Kumbha too had moved and had come upto Narlai. Jodha had collected his force at Pali and from there he moved to Nadol.[1]

Looking at the dates we can easily find that it was during this period when Rana Kumbha was engaged against Jodha[2] that Mahmud Khalji attacked and conquered Mandalgarh. Thus it was not the weakness of Kumbha, but the attack of Qutb-ud-din, the Nagore tangle and finally the attack of Jodha that prevented Kumbha from taking effective measures against Mahmud Khalji.

Rana Kumbha's resistance to Gujarat and Malwa also throws interesting side-lights on the contemporary Rajput mind. While Mahmud of Malwa and Qutb-ud-din of Gujarat could resolve their differences and conclude a treaty against Mewar, the Rajputs could never resolve their differences which existed among them because of their false notions of injured prestige, with the result that they kept on fighting with each other, thereby weakening their own resources and losing constantly the flower of their youth, and ultimately depending on the mercy of the enemy. Strangely enough, to them, submission to Muslim Sultans never amounted to loss of prestige but submission to another Rajput chief was something like extreme degradation. No wonder they remained weak and an easy prey to powerful neighbours.

MORE ACTIVITIES OF MAHMUD KHALJI AGAINST MEWAR

After Mahmud was satisfied with arrangements of Mandalgarh, he started from there on 15th of *Muharram*[3] 862 A H / 3rd Dec. 1457 A.D. and marched towards Chittor Instead of

[1] Reu, *Marwar ka Itihas*, p. 90. Reu mentions that Jodha had about twenty thousand Rathor youths and because so many horses could not be procured many of them had come in bullock carts

[2] *Ibid*, pp 90-91 Reu mentions that, finding that Jodha's warriors had come in bullock carts they (Mewar Warriors) concluded that the Rathors had come for a decisive battle Sankhla Napa advised Rana Kumbha that it was advisable to conclude a treaty with Jodha, because Jodha was determined to avenge his father's death and also because war with the Sultan of Malwa was going on Rana Kumbha accepted the suggestion and after negotiations, a treaty was concluded It was after this treaty that Jodha's coronation took place in 1515 V S /1458 A.D

See also *Khyat*, I, pp 30-32

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 210b

moving with the entire army, he divided it into parties One party he sent under *Shahzada* Ghiyath Shah towards Kelwara and Delwara,[1] another party under Taj Khan was sent to *wilayat* Chhappan[2] and Sultan Mahmud himself moved and pitched his tents at Khaljipur towards Mandsaur When Taj Khan was in *wilayat* Chhappan, information came about an uprising in Bundi. Sultan Mahmud ordered Taj Khan to march immediately to Bundi as he considered that suppression of Bundi rebellion was more important and needed top priority. *A'zam Humayun* Fidan Khan was also sent to reinforce Taj Khan Mahmud instructed that the *muqaddam* of Bundi should be punished in such a way that none would dare raise head in future [3]

Taj Khan and Fidan Khan suppressed the Bundi rebellion and returned to the royal camp Ghiyath Shah also returned after causing some damage to the country of Kelwara and Delwara and joined the Sultan at Khaljipur. After the entire army had assembled at Khaljipur the Sultan returned to Shadiabad[4] where he lavishly distributed rewards to all

In 863 A H./1458-59 A D Mahmud made another attack on the territory of Kumbha and sent Ghiyath Shah and Fidan Khan towards Kelwara and Delwara. They made a general survey[5] of the situation and returned to the king, who had pitched his tent at Ahar. They also informed the king about the strength of the fort. On hearing of the strength and beauty of Kumbhner fort, Mahmud became desirous of visiting the fort personally.[6] But as Mahmud was marching into enemy's territory away from his own kingdom, he took full precaution for the safety of his own base, and left behind Sher Khan with a strong army at Ahar

1 *Ma'athir-t-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 210b.

2 The territory south of the Banas and the Berach rivers, has rapid descent and is broken up into numerous narrow valleys.

See *Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewar Residency*, II-A, p 6

3 *Ma'athir-t-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 211b 4 *Ibid* 5 *Ibid*, fol. 212b.

Shihab Hakim says, they completely destroyed everything in the territory and returned to the king with a very big booty.

This movement of Ghiyath Shah and Fidan Khan towards the territory of Kelwara and Delwara and their return to the tent of Sultan Mahmud and also informing him about the beauty and strength of the fort, indicates that they were sent on a reconnoitring mission

Zafar-ul-walih, p 203; *T A* III, p 341, *Firishta* II, p 497.

6 *Ma'athir-t-Mahmudshahi*, fol 213a

to guard the base as well as his rear Mahmud marched in full formation with Ghiyath Shah in the *Maimna* and Fidan Khan in the *Maisra* with the *Qalb* (centre) under his personal command While marching, he found a temple on his route and burnt it to injure the feelings of Rana Kumbha [1]

He then proceeded towards Kumbhner On reaching the vicinity of Kumbhner he climbed on the top of one of the hills nearby to survey the fort of Kumbhner, and also to find out the ways and means of conquering it [2] But the strength of the fort impressed him so much that he was convinced of its invincibility and turned towards Chhappan. From Chhappan Mahmud Khalji turned towards Dungarpur, and pitched his tents on the bank of a big reservoir [3] The people of the locality offered some resistance to Mahmud, but Sain Das, the ruler of Dungarpur, submitted to Mahmud and paid two lakh *tankas*, twenty-one horses and other presents as *khidmati* [4] The Sultan then returned to Shadiabad reaching there by the end of *Rabi'* I 863 AH /Feb. 1459 AD

After concluding treaty with the Bahmani kingdom, Mahmud made another attempt on the territory of Rana Kumbha. On 12th *Jamada* I 871 AH./20th December 1466 AD he moved to Ujjain.[5] From Ujjain he marched to Ujan fort and captured it. He then marched forward and pitched his tents by the bank of the river Mahendri

While he was on the bank of the Mahendri, he received information that Sultan Mahmud Gujarati had left his boundary to help the son of *Rai* Sain Das of Dungarpur and was pitching his tent a few stages away from the camp of Mahmud.[6] Mahmud sent an envoy to Mahmud Begada who, on receiving the envoy, returned to Champaner The son of *Rai* Sain Das then came to the camp of Mahmud, and he marched towards Dungarpur with the son *Rai* Sain Das again sent two lakhs of *tankas* with a

[1] *Ma-athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 213b

[2] *Ibid*, fol. 214a, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 203

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 214b; *T A*. III, p 341, *Firishta*, II p 497

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 215a, *Firishta*, II, p 497

Shihab Hakim says that Sain Das while paying the *khidmati* mentioned that though Kumbha was generous yet he was accepting Mahmud as his master.

[5] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 286b

[6] *Ibid*, fol. 287b.

hundred horses and begged for mercy,[1] but Mahmud did not accept it and demanded that Sam Das should send his horse named Som Nath to which he was religiously attached. Sain Das considered the horse 'Som Nath' as most valuable of all the possessions he had Sam Das, finding that no alternative was possible, sent the horse to Mahmud Khalji and begged for mercy.[2] Mahmud then proceeded towards Chhappan and after plundering it moved towards Kumbhner. On the way he heard that Rana Kumbha was in the fort of Jawar. Leaving his heavy tent equipage behind, he proceeded with a selected army towards Jawar[3] with Ghiyath Shah on the right and Taj Khan on the left. Keeping a distance of one mile between these three divisions he proceeded against Kumbha.[4] According to Shihab Hakim, Kumbha left Jawar, for Kumbhner, and Mahmud plundered and destroyed a temple in Jawar, and then proceeded towards Kumbhner and reached there on 9th *Sha'ban*.[5] Mahmud made an attempt to besiege the fort but the fort being situated in a difficult region, siege was not possible. He waited there for about a month and then on 7th *Ramazan*, he despatched his heavy baggage towards his capital, and on the 11th, himself marched towards Chittor.[6] Rana Kumbha, finding that Mahmud was returning and the army was divided, came out of the fort of Kumbhner and attacked him. Though Kumbha inflicted some damage on the Malwa army, Mahmud succeeded in repulsing him and advanced towards Chittor. But finding that conquest of Chittor would take a long time and his army was already exhausted, he returned to Mandu.[7] This was the last attempt of Mahmud Khalji against Kumbha. Though Mahmud announced while returning that he would again come towards Chittor the next year, but after his return, his attention was devoted to internal conditions and he could not come towards Mewar any more.

Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji and Rana Kumbha remained enemies throughout their life. Mahmud Khalji practically devoted his whole life to fighting against the power of Mewar

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 288a.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 288b.

[3] Jawar had lead and zinc mines, discovered in the end of the XIV Century.

[4] *Ibid.*, fols 288b, 289a

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 289b.

[6] *Ibid.*, fol. 292b.

[7] *Ibid*, fol. 293b.

and much of the energy of Mewar was spent in resisting the growing power of Malwa. No doubt Mahmud had some success as he conquered such places as Mandsor, Mandalgarh and Amjer, but he could not humble the power of Mewar. In fact the contest between these two states was left by both these rulers, Rana Kumbha and Mahmud Khalji, as a legacy to their successors. The contest thus continued practically throughout the period of the existence of Malwa as an independent state

Chapter VIII

INTERNAL POLICY OF MAHMUD KHALJI I

Mahmud's policy of toleration — His policy towards the Rajput chiefs — Mahmud's care for Cultivation, Trade and Commerce — Welfare activities of Mahmud Khalji — His care for their health and education — Law and Order, Justice — Policy in suppressing rebellion— Regularisation of the Calendar — Mahmud's attitude towards Mashaikh and Ulama — Reception of Envoys — Building activity of Mahmud — Death of Sultan Mahmud — Character and Personality

THE military operations of Mahmud Khalji as discussed in the previous pages may lead one to think that Mahmud devoted all his time to waging wars against his neighbours and remained indifferent to the fate of the people of his own kingdom No doubt Firishta says that Mahmud's life was spent in the battle-field and the tent was his home,[1] but from his activities inside Malwa we find that he was equally concerned with internal improvement.

Mahmud was a pious and religious Musalman and observed the religious code in his personal life, but he was not a bigoted orthodox Musalman, as one of the modern writers would have us believe.[2] No doubt the contemporary historian Shihab Hakim followed by Nizam-ud-Din, Firishta and later historians have mentioned demolition of temples by Mahmud, but all such demolitions as mentioned by them refer to temples situated not in Malwa, but in the lands of such rulers whose territories he invaded. In the case of these demolitions his motive was more to terrorise the people of those regions and to impress upon their minds the inability of their rulers to defend their religion, than to satisfy his iconoclastic zeal. Had it been a regular practice of Mahmud, these Muslim historians certainly would not have concealed it; on the contrary they would have described them with added colour for the glorification of Islam Writing about

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 503

[2] *The Delhi Sultanate*, (Vidya Bhawan), p 181. A K. Majumdar writes, "But he was a bigot and not only loved to destroy the images and temples of the Hindus, but also outraged their religious sentiments in all possible way"

the reign of Mahmud Khalji, Firishta[1] says that in his reign the Hindus and the Muslims lived peacefully and maintained friendly relations with each other[2] That Mahmud followed a policy of perfect toleration is also borne out by the presence of *Jain Kalpsutra* which was transcribed in Mandu under the royal patronage.[3] The *Jain Kalpsutra* is a religious book and for a Muslim Sultan to have encouraged its transcription with illustrations under his own patronage and possibly for his own use certainly indicates that Mahmud was open-minded, and was capable of reading and understanding the text. A bigoted Musalman would have taken pains to destroy it, much less its promotion. We have yet another example of Sultan Mahmud's toleration found in an inscription dated V.S 1516 on a Jain temple in Bawangaja[4] The inscription clearly mentions the name of Sultan Mahmud as the sovereign in whose reign the repair to the temple was done[5]

Mahmud's policy of toleration was not confined to social and cultural matters. In his administrative machinery too he allowed the Hindus to occupy such positions for which they were found efficient We find a number of Hindu names associated with his administrative affairs.[6]

[1] *Firishta*, II, pp 502, 503

و در آن مدت که زمام سلطنت مالوه در قبضهٔ اختیار او بود -

از چهار طرف جه از مسلمانان و جه از هندو رود برو میگردیدند -

[2] *Briggs*, IV, p 234

[3] Marg, XII, No 3 (Pramod Chandra—*Notes on Mandu Kalpsutra*)

[4] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, p 93

"Five miles from the town (Barwani) is Bawangaja (52 yards) hill, a place of considerable sanctity among the Jains Its name is derived from the popular idea of the heights of the gigantic figure of the Jain teacher Gamateswara, cut in the face of the hill about the three-quarters of the way up the slope. On the summit is a small temple constructed from the remains of an older building which contains two inscriptions dated 1166 and 1459 "

Jain Shilalekha Sangraha, III, p 490, gives the name of the place as Bawaganj

[5] *JASB* XVIII, pp 951-53, No 3, *Jain Shilalekha Sangraha*, III, pp 490-91

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 102b

In his dealings with the petty Rajput chiefs, he followed a policy which was dictated by political need and not coloured by religious zeal. In the early years of his reign when he marched into Sarguja[1] and thence towards Raipur[2] his primary aim was to secure elephants from these territories. He, therefore, did not oust the chiefs of these places, but simply accepted their submission and agreed to their payment of tribute. Similarly the *Rai* of Bairagarh[3] was allowed to continue in his territory. As a farsighted statesman Mahmud realised the difficulties of holding these territories directly under his own control, which would only increase the burden of constantly subjugating local aspirations The policy proved a great success and he continued to receive elephants and tributes from these chiefs till the end of his life In such places where he found that replacement would bring greater loyalty he did not hesitate to take the bold step to remove the ruler. Such a policy is best illustrated in the case of *Rai* Sanda of Kotah who had accepted the suzerainty of Mahmud but secretly was on the side of Rana Kumbha. When Mahmud marched to Kotah, *Rai* Sanda[4] came forward with tribute of one lakh and twenty thousand *tankas* and offered it to Mahmud. But Mahmud found in Bhonk, the younger brother of *Rai* Sanda, a more loyal substitute, who not only had been in his company, but had also requested Mahmud to remove Sanda and to give the place to him. Mahmud's consideration therefore was based on the ground that Bhonk being dependent on him would be more loyal. Mahmud, therefore, after consulting his officers removed Sanda and gave Kotah to Bhonk[5] along with the tribute of one lakh and twenty thousand *tankas* that had been paid by Sanda. In his dealings with these petty chiefs, Mahmud always acted generously, and if he extracted tribute from them, he also bestowed presents and even gave material aid lavishly

To justify his claim of overlordship Mahmud always protected these chiefs from the aggression of powerful neighbouring rulers.

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 106a [2] *Ibid*, fol 106b

[3] *Ibid.*, fols 256b, 261a

A village in the Bairagarh pargana of Melghat taluka inhabited chiefly by Kokurs. It is 50 miles distant from Chikalda via Semliadoh and 18 miles from Dharni *Distt Gazetteer, Amraoti*, p 368

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 163b.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol 164b

In 848 A.H /1444-45 A D. *Rai* of Parhar,[1] whose territory was on the Betwa and who was a feudatory of Mahmud appealed for help against the aggression of Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur Mahmud without any delay sent Malik Muzaffar to his assistance and thereby protected him from Jaunpur aggression. Similarly in 858 A.H /1454 A D *Rai* Bhanu[2] the ruler of Baglana appealed to Mahmud against the aggression of Miran Mubarak Shah Faruqi of Khandesh. The territory of Baglana was situated between the Gujarat kingdom and Bahmini kingdom but *Rai* Bhanu had accepted the suzerainty of Malwa Sultan Mahmud sent Iqbal Khan and *Saif-ul-Mulk* for his assistance[3] but finding them unable to cope with the situation he sent Prince Ghiyath Shah [4] All these cases clearly prove that Mahmud did not allow religion to interfere in his policy To give assistance to a *Kafir* against a Muslim was something that had been wholly denounced by the *Ulama*, and yet we find Mahmud time and again giving assistance to his feudatory chiefs in particular and others in general without any consideration for the religion of the person against whom he was giving assistance

MAHMUD'S CARE FOR CULTIVATION

Mahmud recognised fully that the prosperity of his kingdom would depend much upon the constant supply of grain and the prosperity of the cultivators. Nothing could be more discouraging to a cultivator than to see the fruits of his labour spoilt. The greatest danger to which the fields of the cultivators were exposed was the movement of the army which was quite frequent during the reign of Mahmud Khalji. Mahmud, therefore, took quite a good deal of precaution to see that the fields of the cultivators were not destroyed. And "wherever his conquering armies had to march through the cultivated lands of the *ryat* and trampled down the crops under the feet of their horses,

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 151b.

[2] *T.A* III, p 337 has, *Rai* Babu; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 201 has, *Rai* Manu, *RUTKB*. II, p 153, fn 3 suggests, *Rai* Bhanu which seems to be more correct

[3] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 201, *T A* III, p. 336, Nizam-ud-Din says that Mahmud sent Iqbal Khan and Yusuf Khan in advance of himself Mubarak Khan came with a large army to oppose, but fled after a massacre Sultan Mahmud returned to Shadiabad, after raiding some villages and towns in the territory of Asir

[4] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 201; *T.A* III, p 337, Nizam-ud-Din seems to be slightly confused in his narrative

Mahmud appointed trustworthy *amins* and honest *mutafahis* to measure all such damage carefully and pay compensation from the treasury for the amount of crop so damaged "[1] Historians have showered unqualified praises on Sher Shah for the protection that he gave to the cultivators from the possible damage to the crop from army movement But here in Malwa, we find a Sultan who almost a century earlier than Sher Shah instituted rules and took measures for the prosperity of his cultivators whom he considered as the backbone of his state.

That Mahmud considered agricultural produce as the real wealth of a country is also borne out by the policy that he adopted when invading the territories of any neighbouring kingdom On many occasions we find that after he entered the enemy territory he gave orders to his army to destroy everything in the fields so completely that even fodder for the cattle was not left [2] The idea behind such destruction was to render the enemy helpless against him and also to drive home into the minds of the *ryat* the incompetence of their own rulers, who could not protect them It was something like breaking the morale of an enemy country

Mahmud's attention was not confined to agriculture alone. He fully recognised the importance of trade and commerce. The emissaries of the *Khalifa* of Egypt and the embassy of Abu Said Mirza are clear indications that Malwa had an established reputation outside India The cause of sending Prince Ghiyath Shah towards Surat was the information received by Sultan Mahmud that a number of traders who were coming towards Malwa had been plundered by the *muqaddams* living on

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 134a

از هر مقام که کوح می شد بضرورت ممر عساکر منصور در کشتهای رعیت واقع می شد ——— زراعت که در زیر مراکب مستهلک می گشت، امینان متدین گزیده خصال و متفحصان متفرس یسدیده افعال تعین می فرمود - تا باحتیاطی و ناکیدی هر چه تمامتر بپیمایند و آن مقدار غله که پایمال شده باشد وجه آن از خزانه بخصمان زراعت برسانند -

[2] *Ibid*, fols 128b, 130a

the route of Surat.[1] The instructions to Prince Ghiyath Shah were to chastise these miscreants and to teach them a lesson so that in future they might not trouble the traders and travellers. Such a measure certainly was a source of encouragement to the merchant community.

WELFARE ACTIVITIES OF MAHMUD KHALJI

Mahmud's conception of government was based on the welfare of the people. The contemporary historian Shihab Hakim says that consideration of the welfare of the people was a trust given to the king by God, for if he does good to the people he will answer well on the day of judgment.[2] The welfare begins with the care of health, because "no progress is possible without strength of the body."[3] Keeping such a view in his mind, Mahmud established a hospital[4] (*Shifakhana*) in Shadiabad Mandu in 846 AH/1442-43 AD which was to be run entirely at State expense The establishment of the hospital and Sultan's patronage at once attracted physicians (*Tabibs*) to Shadiabad.[5] All these physicians were paid by the Sultan and were attached to the hospital. The hospital was provided with arrangements for the treatment of diseases and also for the stay of the patients during the period of convalescence[6] and for all this the patient had to pay nothing The hospital was also provided with a section for the treatment of the insane.[7] A spacious *Hammam* with good arrangement for nature-cure was also provided for the cure of many diseases.[8]

A medical laboratory (*Darukhana*) was also attached to this hospital for preparation and storage of medicines The Sultan

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 176b [2] *Ibid*, fols 153b 154a
[3] *Ibid*, fol 183b

کسب کمال بی آلت بی بدنی میسر نسود

[4] *Ibid*, fol 154b

لا جرم در احیای دلهای اموات و تصحیح ابدان مرضی
از وفور عدل و امتنان بذل و احسان سعی جمیل ارزانی می
فرماید و در بسمار بیماران اقصی الغایه اهتمام می نماید -

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 155a [6] *Ibid*, fol 156a
[7] *T A* III, p 329, *Firishta*, II, pp 490-91.
Shihab Hakim is silent about the treatment of the insane
[8] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 155b

deputed a large number of persons who could identify the herbs which were used in the Hindu Ayurvedic system[1] and Yunani Tibb system for collection of the herbs from different parts of the country. Very soon a large quantity of herbs was stored in the *Darukhana*, which could meet all possible requirements.[2] Overall charge of this big establishment of the hospital and the laboratory was given to *Malik-ul-Hukama Qidwat-ul-Atibba Maulana* Fazalullah[3] who was also the personal physician of the Sultan. To meet the expenses of the *Shifakhana* and *Darukhana* a few big villages were assigned in *waqf* to the hospital.[4]

While Mahmud cared for the physical fitness of his subjects, he did not overlook their mental development. Though Mahmud did not institute any new system of education, he certainly encouraged by state patronage the promotion of learning. He founded a college[5] (*Madrasa*) in Shadiabad with a grand building in which residential arrangements for students and teachers were provided. The teachers and students were provided with food and other necessities free of charge.[6] The educational activity was not confined to the capital alone Mahmud built colleges in his territories and encouraged

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 155a.
[2] *Ibid.*, fols 155a, 155b
Shihab Hakim figuratively speaks of the store as
اگر تو شیر مرغ و خون عنقا بخواهی یابی آنجا گه مهیا
[3] *Ibid*, fol 155b
[4] *Ibid*
[5] *Ibid*, fol 110a; *TA* III, p 326; *Firishta*, II, p 488
[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 110a

در یمین و یسار خانقاه و مدرسه پرداخته اند که هر روز علمای عالی و فضلای فاضل مآب حاضر شوند و از مشکلات علوم اساتذه پرتو روشنائی بر دل تلامذه می افتد و طالبان علوم دینی و سالکان جادهٔ معالم یقینی را لحظتاً فلحظتاً مکاشفات علمی حاصل می گردد و علماء و طلبه علم را از وجوه حلال اسباب رفاهیت مهیا و مشارب فراغت مهنای تفرقه و طلب می رسد -

eduction so much that Malwa soon acquired a reputation for learning and became an object of envy of Shiraz and Samarkand.[1]

At Shadiabad on the other side of the *Madrasa* Mahmud constructed a *Khanqah* which was to serve as a residential and resting place for the travellers and *Fuqra* and *Masakin* Here too the provisions and requirements were provided from the charity fund of the Sultan.[2]

Mahmud Khalji paid a good deal of attention to maintenance of law and order in his kingdom. To prevent theft and robbery taking place he had made adequate arrangements but in spite of his safety measures if ever a robbery or theft took place in his kingdom, he immediately made good the loss and recovered the amount from the village where the crime was committed.[3] Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji believed in fixing responsibility on the local population, and understood that villagers knew the miscreants and if the responsibility was placed on the entire village, the villagers would put pressure on the habitual criminals to desist from crime or alternately hand over such persons to the government. The system worked so well that as Firishta writes, theft and robbery became almost unknown in his kingdom. The highways of Malwa suffered from another danger. These roads at many places passed through regions where wild animals lived in abundance. The tigers and leopards were habitual waylayers and Mahmud issued orders to all his officers that they should make efforts to kill these beasts and also imposed a penalty that after issue of the orders if ever a tiger or a leopard was found in the jurisdiction of any officer, he would be awarded capital punishment. The result of the ordinance was that during his reign and for a long time after his reign, the roads became safe.[4]

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

As a farsighted monarch Mahmud valued the support of the nobles and followed a calculated policy to gain their confidence. He carefully avoided taking such actions as would impress upon the minds of the people that he was a despot. He wanted to justify fully the idea that a ruler was necessary to maintain law and justice and that he was essential for the continuation of social

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 480
[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 110
[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 503.
[4] *Ibid.*

order.[1] Such a view of Mahmud's policy is best illustrated in the punishment of *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Sher Malik, the *muntajib* and his sons. Sher Malik had been one of the recipients of Mahmud's constant favours and had been given the important post of *muntajib* in the army, but during Mahmud's war with Gujarat against Sultan Qutb-ud-din, he connived with the Gujaratis He not only informed them about the weak spots in the Malwa camp, but deliberately misdirected, the soldiers and even announced that the Sultan was killed. *Nizam-ul-Mulk* Sher Malik was also secretly hatching an ambition to proclaim himself Sultan.[2] Sultan Mahmud had been constantly receiving information about his treacherous acts, and any monarch would have given immediate orders for his execution. But Sultan Mahmud followed a different course. He prepared the charges in the form of a *mahzar* which he placed before the *Qazis*, the *Ulama* and the nobles so that they may judge Sher Malik, his sons, and his other accomplices.[3]

Shihab Hakim clearly mentions that Mahmud wished the case to be placed before the laws of the *Shara* so that the sentence would not be considered arbitrary.[4] In the *mahzar* the Sultan asked for the *fatwa* against the crimes committed by Sher Malik and his sons, the charges being that they tried to revolt against their king, attempted to bring harm to the kingdom and that there was need that such disturbance (*fitna*) should not raise its head. The procedure of *mahzar* was that the accused had the chance of defending himself. In this particular case, Sher Malik finding that the evidence against him was overwhelming, and realising that his case was lost, accepted his guilt and publicly confessed that he and his sons committed the crimes that had been alleged against them, because "they wanted to pull down the tree of government"[5] The *Ulama* and other nobles unanimously gave the verdict that he and his sons had forfeited their lives They were then executed. The case clearly indicates that for a medieval monarch such a course was not at all necessary, but Mahmud did not want people in any way to feel that their king was high-handed

But Mahmud was never hesitant in awarding punishment whenever it was required. We find *Maulana* Fazlullah *Tabib*,

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 154a
[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 179a.
[3] *Ibid.*, fol 179b
[4] *Ibid*
[5] *Ibid*, fol 180a.

the personal physician of the Sultan, was punished[1] for some wrong done by him Though we do not know the exact nature of crime committed by the *Maulana*, because Shihab Hakim mentions the punishment but says nothing about the crime, and other historians are absolutely silent on this point However, the punishment was not severe and he seems to have been restored to favour, because he is again found attending upon the Sultan towards the end of his life.

In the subjugation of rebellions, Mahmud never hesitated to take drastic steps where rebellious spirit could not be pacified by any other means Thus we find that when Mahmud failed to win the loyalty of the *muqaddam* of Bundi who persisted in raising the standard of rebellion time and again, he ordered Taj Khan and Prince Fidan Khan, in 862 A H /1457-58 A D to crush the rebellion of the *muqaddam* of Bundi in such a way that it may serve an example for others so that none may dare raise their head in future [2] However, towards the end of his reign Maqbul Khan (Malik Nekbakht) the governor of Mahmudabad Kherla raised the standard of rebellion The cause of his rebellion is not mentioned but from the narrative[3] it seems that he was of an ambitious nature, and thought that as the king was old and had been lately keeping indifferent health, he could easily become independent and carve out a small kingdom of his own. He won over *Rai* Bhanuji, the *Raizada* of Kherla,[4] by giving him some elephants and at the same time seeking help from the ruler of the Bahmani kingdom Sultan Mahmud received the news of this revolt in *Muharram* 872 A.H /Aug 1467 A D and immediately sent Taj Khan and Ahmad

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 266a

[2] *Ibid.*, fol 211b, *T A* III, p 340

Nizam-ud-Din says 'for the conquest of Bundi' But Bundi had been subjugated earlier, hence here it means the reconquest after the rebellion

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 297b

[4] *Ibid*, fol 297b, *T A* III, p 346, *Firishta*, II, p 301, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 206

With slight variations their narrative is practically the same as given by Shihab Hakim

C.H I III, p 359 "Mahmud III of the Deccan had broken the treaty of 1466 by tampering with the loyalty of Maqbul Khan, Mahmud's governor of Kherla, who transferred his allegiance to the southern kingdom and surrendered the fortress to the son of the *raja* whom Mahmud had imprisoned"

Khan[1] to proceed to Mahmudabad to quell the rebellion. He personally came out of Shadiabad and pitched his tents in Nalcha on 8th *Rabi'*[2] II/6th Nov. 1467 A D. and kept himself ready to march if it was needed. When he received the news of the success of Taj Khan and Ahmad Khan in recovering the fort and the city of Mahmudabad Kherla, and also heard of the escape of *Raizada* Bhanuji among the Bhils where he was given shelter, Mahmud sent *Malikul-Umara* Malik Da'ud to threaten the tribes.[3] It had the desired effect; the tribesmen handed over *Raizada* Bhanuji to Taj Khan.

The last disturbance which Mahmud was called upon to quell took place in Khichiwara in 873 A H./1468-69 A.D. In spite of bad health, when he received the petition from Ghazi Khan about his inability to cope with the situation, Mahmud immediately started for Khichiwara.[4] There in the heart of the country he erected another fortress and named it Jalalabad.[5]

REGULARISATION OF THE CALENDAR

Mahmud had noted that there were certain defects in maintaining the accounts and that the assets and liabilities of the State were not properly taken into consideration. On 17th of *Safar* 871 A.H./28th September 1466 A.D Mahmud summoned his ministers and departmental heads and asked them to report on the working of their departments.[6] The officers

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 298a has *Khan-i-A'zam* Taj Khan and *Khan-i-A'zam* Ahmad Khan, *C H I.* III, p 359 calls, Taj Khan and Ahmad Khan as sons of Sultan Mahmud *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 206 says, Taj Khan son of Mahmud Khalji marched to Mahmudpur on receiving the news of the revolt of the Amil of Mahmudpur

On fol 182a, Shihab Hakim has mentioned the names of the four sons of Mahmud as *Ghiyath-ud-dunya-wa-din* Muhammad, *Masnad-i-'Ali A'zam Humayun* Fidan Khan, Fateh Khan and Firuz Khan

Taj Khan and Ahmad Khan could not have been the titles of any of the sons, because had it been so Shihab Hakim would have given indications

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 298b; *T A* III, p 347 has, 20th *Rabi'* II 872 A H

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 301a; *T A* III, p 347.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 304a.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 305a.

[6] *Ibid*, fol 276b

بنا برين بتاريخ هفدهم ماه صفر سنه احدى و سبعين
و ثمانمايته عهده داران ديوان وزارت دام عاليا و عمال ديوان

(*Continued on next page*)

reported that the receipts in the revenue department were made according to the Solar calendar and the payments in the various offices were made according to the Lunar calendar.[1] The Lunar calendar being shorter than the Solar calendar by ten days and fifty-three *tas*,[2] Mahmud found that the State payments were in excess of about eleven days per year over its receipts. To remove this difference it was necessary that both receipts and payments were made on the basis of the same calendar Mahmud had both the alternatives before him, *i e*, he could apply the Solar calendar for payments also as it was for the receipts, or adopt the Lunar calendar for receipts, the payments being already made according to the Lunar calendar. In the case of the Solar calendar the advantage was that the State payment would be reduced, but reduction of payments would not be looked upon favourably by the State employees; it may also lead to such ideas that the State has become weaker financially. In the Lunar calendar the advantage was that no reduction would be made in the payments whereas the receipts would be stepped up. Practically of course the impact was the same, but psychologically it made a lot of difference. Besides, the Lunar calendar had a certain religious sanctity[3] behind it, and was sure to receive a welcome by the *Ulama* and the religious-minded people. Sultan Mahmud therefore gave

(*Continued from pre-page*)

عرض ممالک دام حماه را طلب فرمود و کیفیت عمل خراج ممالک و بر آورد مایحتاج حشم حضرت استفسار نمود که عمل مبنی بر کدام تاریخ است ـ

[1] *Ibid*, fol 276b

عهده داران دواوین بموقف عرض رسانیدند که مداخل عمل خراج ممالک بر حکم تاریخ سمسی متمشی می شود و سائر اخراجات دیوانی چه کارخانه و چه وجه حشم حضرت در قانون قمری معمول می گردد ـ

[2] *Ibid*, fol 276b
[3] *Ibid*, fol 277a

تاریخ قمری که موافق قرآن مجید و کتاب حمید است عمل نمایند ـ

orders that from then onwards (*i.e*, after 17th *Safar* 871 AH/ 28-9-1466 AD) all receipts and payments be made according to the Lunar calendar. While ordering the substitution of the Lunar calendar for the Solar, Mahmud was conscious that at the day of its institution, a difference of eleven months five days and twenty-four *tas* had already accrued and the financial department might demand its payment which certainly would cause both inconvenience and discontentment Mahmud, therefore, gave orders that the arrears thus arrived were to be condoned, and that the accounts onwards only were to be calculated on the basis of the Lunar year Whatever the motives of Mahmud for the introduction of Lunar calendar might have been, it certainly was a retrograde step

To lessen the burden of the *amirs* who held ranks in the State and also to regularise their military service to the State he issued fresh orders. According to the existing system, *amirs* of rank from 1,000 to 2,000 had to supply two horses. According to Shihab Hakim, *amirs* with ranks 1,000, 1,250, 1,500 and 2,000 had to furnish 2 horses and those with a rank of 3,000 had to supply 3 horses. Of the two horses supplied by *amirs* of below 2 thousand rank, one was in the nature of extra aid or a favour, for which Shihab Hakim uses the term *Yaridah* [1]

Mahmud revised the scale of service, and according to the new order the *Yaridah* of the rank of 1,000 was exempted *i e*, instead of 2 horses they would supply only one horse fit for battle, and those with a rank of 2,000 were also to supply one horse but of superior quality Shihab Hakim uses the terms *Asp Kari* and *Asp Jaiyid* to denote the difference in the quality of the horses, the former being a battle horse and the latter a horse of superior breed Rank holders from 2,500 to 3,000 were to supply 2 horses of which one was to be *Asp Kari* and the other as to be *Asp*

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* fol 277a

هر که هزار تنکه وجه دارد ، دو سر اسب میگزراند و همچنین هزار و دو بیستی ، و هرار و پانصدی تا دو هزار دو اسپ می گذراند و آنکه سه هزار تنکه وجه دارد سه اسب می گذراند - هم برین قیاس از هزاری یک اسب جهت یاری ده زیادت میگذرد -

Jaiyid.[1] In the lower cadre, ranks upto 400 were given total exemption and 500 to 900 one horse was to be supplied[2] In the higher cadre, Shihab Hakim mentions that rank holders of 20,000 were to supply 20 *Asp Jaiyid*[3] In the case of those who were in the personal service of Mahmud as *Silahadaran-i-Khas,* he made a flat rate of supplying two horses of the quality of *Asp Kari* for all those holding ranks from two thousand to six thousand.[4]

MAHMUD'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MASHIKH AND ULAMA

Mahmud came in contact with the Sufi saints when he was yet of tender age,[5] and seems to have developed a regard for them As a ruler he recognised their importance in the State. Apart from being scholars, the Sufi saints wielded considerable influence over the Muslim population and enjoyed popularity among the masses Mahmud, therefore, took care not to displease them, though he never allowed them a free hand in politics.

[1] *Ma'athar-i-Mahmudshahi,* fol 277a

[2] *Ibid*, fol 277b

حرف بسمتی و چهار صدی از غایب مراحم خسروانه و عواطف پادشاهانه فرمان شد که این دو رقم را از دیوان عرض ممالک ساقط گردانیده دور سازند و آن کسانکه وجه پانصدی و شش صدی و هفتصدی و هشصدی و نهصدی دارند ، یک اسپ بگذرانند ـ

[3] *Ibid*, fol 277b

و آن که بچهلی اند اگر بست هزار تنکه جزم دارد ، بست سر اسپ جید بگذرانند ـ

[4] *Ibid*, fol 277b

و حکم سلاحداران خاص از دو هزار تنکه تا شش هزار تنکه وجه دو سر اسپ کاری بگذرانند ـ

[5] *Gulzar-i-Abrar,* Chaman III, *Tazkira Shaikhul Islam.*

It is narrated that *Shaikhul Islam, Khalifa* of *Shah* Raju Qattal while going on *Haj* visited Mandu during the reign of Hoshang Shah, when Mahmud was a young boy Mahmud attended on the *Shaikh* The *Shaikh* placed four consecutive morsels in the mouth of Mahmud and blessed him with the kingdom of Malwa which was to remain for three generations in his family after him.

Unlike Gujarat, we do not find Sufis playing any important role in Malwa. Mahmud followed a policy of keeping them well-provided by lavishly bestowing upon them *futuh* (donations) and always showing regard to them. Whenever any Sufi of importance came to Malwa he fully utilised his services in settling his dispute with neighbouring Muslim states,[1] and even did not hesitate to enlist the support of those living in other states to take up his cause. It has already been pointed out how Mahmud had secured the support of *Shaikh* Kamal of Gujarat by giving him lavish *futuh* with a promise to give much more if he succeeded in his Gujarat venture.[2] While marching for the conquest of Gagraun, it was not for nothing that Mahmud maintained an open table inviting *fuqra, mashaikh* and *Ulama* to join him at his table.[3] Being conscious of the hazardous task before him, he wanted to enlist the sympathies of the community of *lashkar-i-dua.*

Mahmud had earlier in his life become a *murid* of *Shaikh Qazi* Ishaq,[4] but when in 871 A.H./1466-67 A.D. *Shaikh* Nurul Haq came he did not hesitate to become his *murid* too. *Shaikh* Nurul Haq brought a *Khirqa* of Kumail *ibn* Ziad from *Shaikh* Akhi 'Aziz of *Silsila Kumailia* with permission to make him a *Khalifa. Shaikh* Nurul Haq took the *bait* from him and initiated him in the secrets of the *Silsila.*[5] *Shaikh* Nurul Haq was a great scholar; Mahmud, therefore, entrusted to him the office of *Sadr* and the supervision of education and also set up under his care a school for the study of *Hadith.*[6] Similarly we find that towards the end of 871 A.H./1467 A.D. (Friday 20 *Zilhijja*/ 23-7-1467) when *Maulana Imad-ud-din wal Millat* Mahmud Siddiqi, who was a brother of *Shaikh* Nurul Haq, brought the *Khirqa* of *Shaikh* Najbuddin Kubra from Sayid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, Mahmud showed all respect to him, and personally

1 *Shaikh* Cham Ladah in Jaunpur case and *Shaikh* Da'ud in Bahmani case.

2 See Chapter V.

Mahmud's deal with *Shaikh* Kamal not only reflects his tact in handling the Sufis but also the morals of contemporary Sufi saints Mahmud who is credited with perfect understanding of human nature could not have been blind to their weaknesses.

3 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 133b. 4 *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p. 83.

5 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 231a, 283b According to Shihab Hakim, Kumail *ibn* Ziad had been a direct disciple of the fourth *Khalifa* Hazart 'Ali (*Loc Cit* fol 232a).

6 *Ibid*, fol. 278b.

marched to receive him. In his honour, Mahmud held a grand reception and lavishly distributed presents to all those attending the function.[1]

THE COMING OF THE ENVOYS

Mahmud's reputation as a great ruler must have spread far and wide, so much so that the Abbaside Caliphate of Egypt thought it worthwhile to enlist him among his lieutenants. Mahmud knew it very well that accepting a *khilat* from the Khalifa would in no way compromise his position as a ruler; on the contrary, it would add to his prestige in the eyes of contemporary Muslim world. The envoys of the Egyptian Khalifa Al Mustanjid Billah Yusuf *ibn* Muhammad (*Abbasi*) came to Sultan Mahmud sometime in the latter half of *Jamada* I, 870 A.H /Jan. 1466 A.D. when he was halting at Khalifatabad.[2] The envoy had brought from the Khalifa a copy of Quran, a ring, a sword, and a black *khilat* (robe of investiture) with a flag having the signs of the Khalifa (*Alam*) along with a letter or mandate bearing the date 8th *Sha'ban* 869[3] A H./5-4-1465 A D. Sultan Mahmud accepted the gifts of the Khalifa with due honour and gave in return to the envoy '*tashrifat*', horses with jewelled saddles and bridles, decorated tents and a big amount of gold and silver.

Mahmud's fame for bounty and lavish distribution of wealth had travelled into far-off lands, and attracted fortune-seekers to come to him. One such was Saiyid 'Ali Saif-ud-din who brought some relics of the Prophet among which was a hair of the Prophet. Saiyid 'Ali Saif-ud-din came when the Sultan was engaged in war with Mewar, and seems to have contacted *Shaikh* Nurul Haq, because Shihab Hakim says that the Sultan saw these relics through *Shaikh* Nurul Haq in *Jamada* II and being pleased, gave Saiyid 'Ali Saif-ud-din a big amount of cash and other presents.[4]

AMBASSADOR FROM ABU SAID MIRZA

Sultan Mahmud's fame attracted the notice of Abu Said Mirza, grandson of Timur, the ruler of Khorasan, who sent in 872 A.H /1467-68 A.D. Khwaja Jamal-ud-din Astrabadi[5] as his

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 296a, 296b, 297a; *T A.* III, p. 346, *Firishta*, II, p 500

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 261b; *T.A.* III, p. 344.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 264a.

[4] *Ibid*, fol. 279a.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 302a; *T A.* III, p. 347, *Firishta*, II, p. 501.

ambassador to the court of the Sultan of Malwa Khwaja Jamal-ud-din came on 6th *Rajab* 872 A H /31-1-1468 A D when Mahmud was halting at Sarangpur, and delivered the presents and gifts of the ruler of Khorasan to the ruler of Malwa. To Mahmud this must have been a very happy occasion because a foreign potentate had recognised his position and had extended to him a hand of friendship [1] Sultan Mahmud not only honoured Khwaja Jamal-ud-din Astrabadi, but also while permitting him to return with his felicitation, he sent various things as presents for Abu Said Mirza through *Shaikhzada* 'Ala-ud-din as his own ambassador who was to accompany the *Khwaja* Shihab Hakim has given a formidable list of commodities which were sent by Sultan Mahmud as present The list[2] includes such items as a book of wisdom, a few strings of bright pearls, a few utensils including a cup of *Yakut*, a spoon of *Lal-i-Rummani* (Ruby), a plate of *Aqiq* (a red stone), a dish of *Firoza*, a basin of *Billaur* (Alabaster), a tray of *Billaur*, some varieties of silk pieces of extremely fine quality of cotton cloth, a good quantity of incense such as amber and musk etc , a few elephants of which one could dance according to the tune and could play on *Manjira*, some Indian horses, a few slaves, a few talking and singing birds such as *Tuti* and *Sai*

BAHLOL LODI SEEKS THE HELP OF MAHMUD KHALJI

After the departure of the Khorasan embassy, Sultan Mahmud received yet another diplomatic mission, this time sent by the Sultan of Delhi Being hard-pressed by Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqi, Sultan Bahlol turned towards Malwa for help. He sent a diplomatic mission consisting of *Shaikhzada* Muhammad Farmuli and *Raizada* Kapur Chand, son of *Rai* Kirat Singh of Gwalior—to seek aid from Mahmud Khalji The mission reached the vicinity of Chanderi on 8th *Sha'ban* 872 A H /3rd March 1468 A.D [3] and after an interview delivered the message of Sultan Bahlol complaining about the high-handedness of

[1] Abu Said Mirza was the grandfather of Babur, hence Abul Fazal says that it "greatly redounded to his glory" Vide, *Ain*, II, (Sarkar) p. 230

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 302b-303b

[3] *Ibid*, fol 307a Shihab Hakim has mentioned the arrival of the diplomatic mission in the incidents of 872 A H It could not be 873 A H, as suggested by Nizam-ud-Din, because the narrative of Shihab Hakim ends with the year 872 A H,

Sultan Hussain Shah of Jaunpur, who was ever intent upon extending his hand beyond his own territories[1] Sultan Mahmud sympathetically heard their complaint and assured them of his help He also gave presents to them and granted them leave to return Mahmud then moved towards Fathabad on 22nd *Sha'ban*[1] 872 A H /17th March 1468 A D While Mahmud was still at Fathabad, conducting expeditions into Amoda, Sultan Bahlol, in pursuance of the assurance given to *Shaikhzada* Farmuli and Kapur Chand by Mahmud, sent Qutb Khan and son of Dungar Singh, to finalise a treaty and to bring aid from Mahmud The ambassadors came on 6th *Shawwal*[2] A H / 9th May, 1468 A D Sultan Mahmud welcomed them and gave to each one of them *khilat* etc with 50 thousand *tankas* in cash They requested Mahmud to send an army for their help to get relief from Hussain Shah and they also had a confidential talk with Sultan Mahmud to which the Sultan gave a patient hearing. They also conveyed the terms offered by Sultan Bahlol that whenever Mahmud would march on any expedition or annually, Sultan Bahlol would furnish him a contingent of six thousand horses and also that when Sultan Mahmud would return from Dehli, Sultan Bahlol, in return for his aid, would hand over Bayana with its territories to him[3]

However it seems that Sultan Mahmud was not willing to get himself entangled with Jaunpur and, therefore, while he received the Dehli envoys with all courtesy and also bestowed presents on

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 307b
[2] *Ibid*, fol. 309a
[3] *Ibid*, fol 309b.

و هر سال این بنده با سی هزار سوار از مردان کاری
و دلیران کارزاری اعداد کرد - هر گاه که رایات ظفر آیات
بمهم نهضت فرماید ، در سلک خدام درگاه اعلی منسلک گردد
و به هنگام مراجعت ، چون در دهلی نزول افتد ، حطهٔ بانه با
مضافات و توابع و لواحق تسلیم گماشتگان آید -

Bayana had earlier accepted the suzerainty of Sultan Mahmud but lately Ahmad Khan Julwani of Bayana had shifted his allegiance to Hussain Shah Sharqi. Bahlol had been trying to establish his authority over Bayana and thus Bayana had become a bone of contention between the three powers. Bahlol's offer of Bayana seems to imply that he would withdraw his claim in favour of Mahmud.

them and made promises for help, abstained from actually giving any material aid. Sultan Mahmud then left Fathabad and returned to Shadiabad reaching there on 19th *Ziqa'd*[1] 872 A.H / 10th June 1468 A D

BUILDING ACTIVITY OF MAHMUD KHALJI

Mahmud was not a miserly king, he lavishly distributed wealth in the shape of presents and *khilats* to his officers on all possible occasions. With equal open-handedness he spent wealth in erecting buildings in various parts of his kingdom To a modern critic, it may appear as a huge waste of tax-payers' money, but in medieval age it provided a sort of state employment to thousands of stone-cutters, masons and others engaged in allied trade of building art. The building activity also had the advantage of keeping alive the local traditions and enriching it by fresh experience and external contact[2]

Early in his reign Mahmud undertook the completion of the mausoleum of Hoshang Shah[3] as well as the *Jama Masjid* in Mandu. In 845 A.H /1441-42 A D. he constructed the *Madrasa* at Mandu adjacent to the *Jama Masjid*[4] After about a year or so he laid a beautiful garden with a dome and a palace at Nalcha[5] At Dipalpur Mahmud constructed a *Hauz* (water reservoir) and a pavilion with a dome in the centre of the *Hauz*.[6] After the conquest of Gagraun he laid the foundation of a new city in the vicinity and named it Mustafabad.[7] Mahmud then constructed a palace called *Imarat-i-Zarin Kaushik*[8] at Shadiabad

Mahmud then gave orders for the construction of a

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 309b. Shihab Hakim clearly says that Sultan Mahmud returned to Shadiabad on 19th *Ziqa'd* Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta mention the incident in 873 A H. and say that Sultan Mahmud died on his way back, which is contrary to the statement of Shihab Hakim. Shihab Hakim's history comes to an end with the year 872 A H., hence Bahlol's mission came in 872 A.H. and that Sultan Mahmud died after one year of this incident.

[2] According to Shihab Hakim Mahmud had invited many architects from different places.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 98a, *T A* III, p. 321; *Firishta*, II, p. 485.

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 108b.

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 114b, *Firishta*, II, p 487

[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 116a.

[7] *Ibid*, fol 138b

[8] *Ibid*, fols. 140a-b.

mausoleum for 'Ali Sher[1] at Dhar in 856 A.H /1452 A D. At Ujjain he constructed *Imarat-i-Nur*.[2] At Fathabad near Chanderi Mahmud built a *Kaushik* (palace) seven storeys high.[3] At Mandu he built *Darus Shifa*[4] Mahmud built two more forts, the Azizabad[5] and the Jalalabad[6]

Most of the buildings of Mahmud had been hastily constructed with the result that very few have survived. Besides, Nalcha, Dipalpur, Dhar, Ujjain and Mandu had been important centres after Mahmud and not unlikely his buildings were altered to meet the tastes of new monarchs which might have weakened them and also changed their shape so as to be associated with the names of the renovators

DEATH OF SULTAN MAHMUD

In 873 A.H /1469 A.D , Mahmud had to march into Khichiwara again to subjugate the Khichi Chauhan chiefs. Mahmud had gone there in the previous year too, but the territories had not been properly subjugated This proved to be the last expedition of Mahmud. He had been for last three years in very bad health and in spite of his illness he often moved out in *palki* with his physician attending upon him. The heat and strain of these marches had greatly impaired his health. While returning from this expedition he fell seriously ill and died on 19th *Ziqa'd* 873 A.H./31st May 1469 A.D at the age of sixty-eight years.[7]

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 141b, 142a 'Ali Sher was the father of Malik Mughith and grandfather of Sultan Mahmud

[2] *Ibid*, fol 142b [3] *Ibid*, fol 148b.

[4] *Ibid*, fols 153b, 154a [5] *Ibid*, fol 253a. [6] *Ibid*, fol. 305a.

[7] *Firishta*, II, p 502 Firishta says, Mahmud ruled for thirty-four years; *T.A* III, p. 349 Nizam-ud-Din also says that Mahmud ruled for thirty-four years Mahmud ascended the throne on 29th *Shawwal* 839 A H., therefore with a reign of 34 years he should have died in 873 A H, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 208 gives the date of his death as 21 *Ziqa'd* 873 A H / 2nd June 1469 A D Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta mention the date of his death as 19th *Zqa'd* 873 Firishta has given a chronogram which has not been given by Nizam-ud-Din Firishta's chronogram on p 503 runs as:

تاریخ وفات حضرت سلطان شد از بام بهشت عدن یابی مقصود

The chronogram بام بهشت عدن however yields 874 and not 873 *Briggs*, IV, p. 233 Briggs says, Mahmud died on 19th *Zeekad* A H 873 at the age of sixty-eight and has given the following chronogram which yields 873 .

(*Continued on next page*)

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY OF MAHMUD

Mahmud was the greatest of all the Sultans of Malwa. By his hard work he strengthened the kingdom of Malwa and extended it on all sides. Mahmud was polite, brave, just and learned. He valued learning above all things.[1] His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the readings from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings.[2] He had acquired intimate knowledge of human nature, a subject to which he devoted much attention.

Mahmud was endowed with a cool temper and in spite of heavy administrative duties and responsibilities he never lost his temper.[3] He was kind-hearted and generous and his bounty was such that none returned empty-handed from his door.[4] Mahmud was just and under him all people lived in safety and comfort. By his strong administration he kept his subjects free

(*Continued from pre-page*)

شهی والا قدر سلطان محمود حو سد ار امر حق رحلت گزینی

بپرسیدم ز هاتف سال تاریخ بدا آمد که "سد جنت نشینی"

JRBBRAS XIX, p. 169. Campbell writes, in 1469 A.D. after a reign of thirty-four years of untiring energy and activity Mahmud died (*Wright*, II, p. 242. "In 873 A.H./1469 A.D. Mahmud died in his way back from an expedition against Kachwara in the sixty-eighth year of his age".

19th *Zīqa'd* 873 comes to 31st May 1469 A.D. according to "*Taqwīm*".

[1] *Firishta*, II, p. 503; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 312b.

در نظر همت بلند خالش هیچ چیز بمرتبهٔ علم و نایهٔ دانش نرسد ـ

[2] *Briggs*, IV, p. 234.

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 313a.

باوجود سیاست ملک و پاس پادشاهی در حلم بر آن مرتبه است که نسیم روح بخش گلزار نه بد خوئی و ترشروئی منسوب گردد ـ

[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 313b.

کس نیامد بدرشاه جهان کز کرمش

پشتش از بار زر و سیم گران بار نه شد

from the hands of the oppressors.[1] "In kingship he was like Jamshid, in justice like Naushirwan and in generosity like Hatim."[2]

Mahmud was a good rider and a brave soldier and his whole life was practically spent in the battlefield, there was hardly a year when Mahmud was not engaged in fighting By his hard work and diplomacy Mahmud not only carried Malwa to the peak of her glory but actually paved the way for peace and plenty which characterised the reign of his son and successor Ghiyath Shah. If Mahmud had usurped[3] the throne from the Ghuries, he fully justified his usurpation by his administration of the country and certainly proved the maxim that the "crown belongs to him who deserves it"

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 313b.

اهل امان در حمایت و انعام و اهتمام او آسوده و ارباب ظلم و عدوان از حکایت انتقام او فرسوده - آئین دین و دولت از شکوه رایات او محکم و قواعد ملک و ملت از ازانت رای متانت فکر مسکل کشای او مستحکم - ائمه و علمای روی زمین در سایهٔ مرحمت او از تعرض دوران ایمن و اصناف رعایا در ظاه معدلت او در فراغت -

2 *Ibid*, fol 313a.

3 Abul Fazal says, 'Upon such a wretch, in its wondrous vicissitudes thus did fortune smile and the awe he inspired secured him the tranquil possession of power" Vide, *Ain.*, (Sarkar) II p. 230

Chapter IX

REIGN OF GHIYATH SHAH
(A Period of Peace and Plenty)

Accession of Ghiyath Shah — Declaration of his policy — Relations with Mewar — Relations with Champaner and Sultan Mahmud Begada — Bahlol Lodi's raid on Alhanpur — Effects of Ghiyath Shah's policy on Malwa — Factional trouble — Contest between Nasir Shah and Shujat Khan — Circumstances leading to the abdication of Ghiyath Shah — Death of Ghiyath Shah — Character and Personality of Ghiyath Shah, his fondness for women, his religious leanings, his bounty.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD[1] the eldest son of Sultan Mahmud ascended the throne of Malwa on 22nd *Ziqa'd* 873 A H.[2]/3rd June, 1469 A.D after the death of his father with the title of Ghiyath Shah[3] which had been given to him by his father Ghiyath Shah ascended the throne as a mature person with varied experience and training received by him under the fostering care of his father. He was rarely absent from the battles that were fought by his father and was always given the command of the right-wing (*maimana*) of the army. It is not that he had always fought under the direction of Sultan Mahmud, but was often given independent charge of an expedition sent either to conquer or to subjugate or to render assistance to any of the feudatory chiefs facing trouble because of aggression of a neighbouring king[4] Thus when he ascended the throne he had already established his reputation as a soldier and as a general Sultan Mahmud had also taken care to give him training in the work of administration, and when personally absent from the capital, he used to entrust the administrative duties to him

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 132a; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 212

[2] Duff, *The Chronology of India*, p 202, has erroneously given 1475 A D as the year of his accession; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 208, has 22nd *Ziqa'd*

[3] His full title as found from his coins is: *Al-Wathiq bi-l-Malik-i-l-Muluk Abul Fath Ghiyath Shah Al-Khalji*, Vide, *Wright*, II, p. 250.

[4] Vide, Chapters V & VI In his coronation speech he said, "I have spent 34 years at stirrups of my father in labours and expedition".

Ghiyath Shah, seems to have been inclined to enjoy the fruits of the various treaties, concluded by his father with the neighbouring kingdoms, and on his accession, after the completion of the coronation ceremony, he declared the general policy that he wanted to follow. As a military commander under his father he had seen the maximum possibilities of territorial expansion. He had also realised that more conquest would in no way help in the material progress of the State. He, therefore, declared on his accession that instead of making efforts for further conquest he would endeavour to guard and protect the territories that he had inherited from his father To him it was better to keep his territories in peace and quiet than to strike his hand on those of others In short Ghiyath Shah's policy was one of consolidation and he, therefore, refrained from aggressive wars His real motive behind such a policy was that he and his subjects and the country should enjoy peace and prosperity so that all may lead a happy life.[1]

The portion of the speech as noted by Nizam-ud-Din, and his subsequent account of the reign which was practically taken verbatim by Firishta, had led scholars to conclude that he was an ease-loving indolent and pleasure seeker who would not take the battlefield personally. Majumdar holds that at the beginning of his reign he entrusted the management of the State to his son, Nasiruddin, and devoted all his time to the enjoyment of the pleasures of life and management of his *harem*.[2] Wolseley Haig practically says the same thing that "Ghiyasuddin found his own chief amusement in the administration of his *harem*, which it was his fancy to organise as a kingdom in miniature complete in itself [3]" Yazdani, a prominent scholar on Malwa, is also of the opinion that on taking up the reins of Government, he declared that he would yield up the sword to his son and pass his life in peaceful pursuits [4] No doubt Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta at the opening of their account of Ghiyath Shah mention that he gave up the reins of government to his eldest son Nasir 'Abdul Qadir at his accession, but a careful reading of their entire text would reveal

[1] *T A.* III, p. 350

[2] Majumdar, A K , *The Sultanate of Delhi, Loc. Cit* , p. 181

[3] *CHI.* Vol III, p 362.

[4] Yazdani, *Mandu the City of Joy*, p 20 : Yazdani has drawn his conclusion on the basis of *Briggs*, IV, p. 230 and *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Rogers and Beveridge) Vol II, p. 366.

that at many places they have contradicted their own statement. This contradiction indicates that Ghiyath Shah had only associated Nasir Shah with himself in the work of administration and while the routine work was to be carried out by the son, the direction of the policy he retained in his own hands.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Nasir Shahi*[1] clearly says that Sultan Ghiyath Shah after having ruled for full twenty years, thought of ruling from behind the screen.[2] Thus it is clear from this statement that though Ghiyath Shah had associated his eldest son 'Abdul Qadir Nasir Shah in the work of administration and management of the State, just as he himself had been associated during the reign of his father, he did look after the affairs of the State personally. Even after his withdrawal from active participation in the work of administration, after twenty years of rule, he used to come out for brief periods[3] to give public audience, and had given instructions that he should be informed of everything that happened in his kingdom, and solved on many occasions the problems of the State Nizam-ud-Din says,[4] "If in any affair of the country, there was doubt among the *wazirs* they used to write a statement of the facts and send it to the palace, and he wrote a fitting reply and sent it to them."

Thus in reality Ghiyath Shah endeavoured to consolidate and increase the material prosperity of Malwa, and no doubt Malwa under Ghiyath Shah reached the zenith of its cultural development, which is always associated with peace and plenty.[5] The

[1] *Tarikh-i-Nasir Shahi* which was composed in the reign of Nasir Shah, though full of bombast and unnecessary praise of Nasir Shah, throws some light here and there. Ms No. OR 1803, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, Rieu, Vol III, p 1040. [2] *OR* 1803, fol 4a.

تا وقتی که از خلافت حضرت اعلیٰ رتبت بادشاه صفا سریرت خالص عقیدت ظل الهیٰ عباد شاهی بیست سه کامل انصرام یافت، مقتضا کرد که قدم مسند نسینی در دامن احتجاب کشند و بردای انزواء سترقع آمد.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 507 [4] *T A* III, p 352, *Firishta*, II, p 507

[5] Ernest Barnes: "It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of Shadiabad" Vide, *JR B B R A S* XXI, p. 364, Campbell "The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest For fourteen years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm" Vide, *JR.B B R.A.S* XIX, p 171

cultural achievements of his reign had so much influenced the minds of the people that when Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta wrote their histories, stories associated with Ghiyath Shah were more popular than a few military activities in which his kingdom was involved A monarch whose name gets associated with stories depicting piety, righteousness, justice and benefaction certainly could not have been a licentious person devoting all his time to the pleasures of senses

The political and inter-states complications in which Ghiyath Shah was involved, are very few and widely separated during his long rule

RELATIONS WITH MEWAR

The first state with which Ghiyath Shah had to measure his strength was Mewar The two great rival rulers of Malwa and Mewar, Mahmud Khalji and Rana Kumbha, had left the arena of politics practically together [1] In Mewar, Rana Udai Singh, the eldest son of Rana Kumbha ascended the throne after murdering his father, but he was not pardoned by the people for this heinous crime and has come down to posterity as *Hatiaro* (patricide) Finding disaffection at home Rana Udai Singh tried to conciliate all such petty Rajput Chiefs who had been crushed by Rana Kumbha. He also conciliated Rawal Khem Karan, the younger brother and an inveterate enemy of Rana Kumbha, by allowing him to occupy Bari Sadri [2] But Rai Mal, the younger brother of Udai Singh, soon organised an opposition and all such loyal Rajputs who had not reconciled themselves to the crime of Rana Udai Singh joined him A contested battle was fought at Darimpur in 1530 V.S /A D. 1473 where Khem Karan was killed[3] and Rana Udai Singh was driven out of Chittor Udai Singh then took shelter in Sojat where he married the daughter of Kunwar Bagha Rathor At Sojat, Udai Singh's two elder sons Surajmal and Sahasmal also joined him, but Udai Singh could get no strong support and soon came to Malwa with his family seeking shelter and help from Sultan Ghiyath Shah [4] Thus we find Malwa again offering shelter to a disaffected Mewar prince

[1] Rana Kumbha was murdered in 1525 V S /A D 1468 Mahmud Khalji died in 873 A H /A D 1469.

[2] Ojha, *History of Pratabgarh State*, pp 51-52

[3] Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, I, p 325, *History of Pratabgarh State*, p 52

[4] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 338.

Sultan Ghiyath Shah had declared that he would not make any attempt at further territorial expansion, but would preserve the territories acquired by his father He was also fully aware that his father had practically devoted his entire life to safeguarding the frontiers of Malwa and had captured the forts of Mandalgarh and Mandsaur, which the Mewar ruler would not hesitate to take back But in case he succeeded in reinstating the deposed ruler of Mewar, a friendship with Mewar could be established and the territories of Malwa would become safe. He, therefore, agreed to render assistance to Rana Udai Singh, and in return Rana Udai Singh agreed to give his daughter in marriage to him [1] The proposed matrimonial alliance was aimed at establishing friendly relations between the two States. But the destiny had it otherwise. Rana Udai Singh was struck with lightning, when he was returning to his camp,[2] after completing the negotiations, and thus the entire plan fell through. Surajmal and Sahasmal, however, remained in the Malwa court and continued to press the Sultan to help them in recovering their patrimony. Sultan Ghiyath Shah finally agreed to assist them and with his forces marched on Chittor [3]

Though Mewar at this time had become weak because of internal dissension and confusion following the murder of Rana Kumbha and contest between his two sons Uda and Rai Mal, Ghiyath Shah did not succeed in ousting Rai Mal, rather, as pointed out by Shyamaldas on the basis of *Rai Mal Rasa*, the Malwa Sultan was defeated and driven away from Chittor.[4] Though the Persian historians do not mention this defeat, but their absolute silence on the entire issue may be because to them it was an incident of no consequence as it brought

[1] Though Persian historians have not mentioned anything about it, but *Kavraj* Shyamaldas in *Vir Vinod*, I, p 338, clearly says so, Tod narrates the same event but says Sultan of Dehli instead of Malwa: "He humbled himself before the king of Dehli, offering him a daughter in marriage to obtain his sanction to his authority, but heaven manifested its vengeance to prevent this additional iniquity, and preserve the house of Bappa Rawul from dishonour He had scarcely quitted the divan (dewan-khaneh), on taking leave of the king, when a flash of lightning struck the *Hattaro* to the earth, whence he never arose" Vide, *Tod*, I, p 233

[2] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 338, also Ojha, *History of Pratabgarh State*, p. 55

[3] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 338.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 339, on p 338 Shyamaldas says, Ghiyath Shah made several attempts on the fort but was defeated by Rai Mal and fled to Mandu.

no glory to the Sultan. This defeat indicates that military strength of Malwa, if it had not actually deteriorated, was certainly on the wane Besides Surajmal, son of Khem Karan who had succeeded his father and was holding Sadri and had been pacified by Rana Rai Mal by allowing him to continue in possession of Sadri, rendered assistance to Mewar forces,[1] and may be that he was trying to redeem the deed of his father, whose enmity and insinuations had been one of the prominent causes of Mahmud Khalji's attacks on Mewar

Rajasthan historians[2] mention that Sultan Ghiyath Shah, to retrieve this defeat, sent a large force under Zafar Khan to ravage Mewar, though he himself remained at Mandu But it is not clear whether Zafar Khan had been commissioned for such an undertaking, or he on his own initiative started ravaging the eastern portions of Mewar. According to *Kaviraj* Shyamaldas, Hada Chachakdeo the *jagirdar* of Begu reported to the Rana that Zafar Khan had destroyed the countryside and had appointed his *thanadars* in Kotah, Bhainsrod and Sopar.[3] Zafar Khan's attack on Bhainsrod might have led Sarangdeva Ajjawat to whom it had been granted in *jagir*[4] by the Rana, to join his forces against Zafar Khan Rana Rai Mal immediately summoned all his chiefs[5] and attacked Zafar Khan near Mandalgarh[6] and drove him back to Malwa. Ojha further says that Rai Mal, after this victory over Zafar Khan, marched into Malwa and in

[1] *Tod*, I, p. 234, has also narrated the invasion of Ghiyath Shah on Chittor, but as pointed out by Ojha, has confused Surajmal Khemkarnot and Sarangdeo Ajjawat with Surajmal and Sahasmal the sons of Rana Udai Singh, and thus erroneously says that the sons of Rana Udai Singh, pardoned by Rana Rai Mal rendered assistance against the Malwa invasion under Ghiyath Shah, Ojha, *History of Pratabgarh State*, p. 56 fn 1

[2] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 339, *Ojha*, III, pt III, p 56 and I, pt I, p. 329

[3] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 339 The inclusion of Kotah creates a doubt that the compiler of *Rai Mal Rasa* in his enthusiasm to glorify Rai Mal did not care about the correctness of the names of places Kotah was outside Mewar

[4] *Ojha*, III, pt III, p 55 fn. 2; *Vir Vinod*, I, p 347

[5] The list of *Sardars* who accompanied Rai Mal is given in *Rai Mal Rasa* and had been included in *Vir Vinod*, I, p 341

[6] *Vir Vinod*, I, pp 339, 421-22, quotes the inscription on southern door of Ekalingaja of 1545 V S On the basis of this inscription Ojha has concluded that the Mewar-Malwa engagement must have taken place between 1546 V S /A D 1489 and 1530 V S /A D. 1473

the battle of Khairabad completely vanquished the Muslim forces.[1]

Though the statements of these historians cannot be totally set aside, one thing is certain, that Ghiyath Shah did not lose any territory even if he was defeated Mandalgarh still remained with Malwa Besides, the existence of Ghiyathpur in Pratabgarh State also indicates the extent of his territory in that direction Ghiyathpur was the centre of the later Deolia (or Deogarh) *pargana*. The place named after Ghiyath Shah and situated in the Kanthal territory indicates that it must have once served as a frontier post or a buttress against Mewar Deolia is in the east of Ghiyathpur and was founded by Bika about A.D. 1561, who is considered as the founder of the Pratabgarh State.[2] So it is obvious that Ghiyathpur was an important place during the ascendancy of Malwa. If Deolia was founded earlier by Rawat Surajmal as stressed by Ojha, it only indicates that after his disagreement with Prithviraj, he had to leave Sadri and again came back to Malwa territory and was allowed some place in the Kanthal, not far from Ghiyathpur where he set up his residential town Deolia—in remembrance of the blessings of *Charim Devi*. The establishment of Rawat Surajmal in the Kanthal with his residence in Deolia and the frontier Malwi *thana* at Ghiyathpur solved for Ghiyath Shah the problem of guarding that side against Mewar

RELATIONS WITH CHAMPANER AND SULTAN MAHMUD BEGADA

In 887 A.H.[3]/A.D 1482-3 Gujarat suffered from famine because of the unusual drought, and many people perished. The Gujarati officers in Baroda territory under Malik Sida *Khassa*[4] *Khel-i-Sultani* carried out a plundering raid into the territories of

[1] Ojha has based his statement on the Rai Mal Rasa included in *Vir Vinod*, I, p.341 But this *Rasa* was written in praise of Rai Mal and is full of fantastic exaggeration and even goes to the extent of saying that Kunwar Prithviraj with a handful of soldiers captured Ghiyath Shah, who was brought to Chittor and kept for some time as a prisoner *Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewar Residency*, II-A, p. 18, practically repeats the same story.

[2] *Rajputana Gazetteer, Mewar Residency*, II-A, p 222; *Ojha*, III, pt III, p. 17

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 396; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 27; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 134; *Bayley*, p 207, *T A* III, p 158 has 880 A H. But Nazam-ud-Din in the Malwa section of his history refers to the conjunction of the stars causing trouble in most of the countries in 887 A H and the arrival of the envoys of the *Rai* of Champaner seeking Malwa aid against the attack of Mahmud Begada in 889 A.H

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 134.

Champaner country in search of supplies. Such a raid could have no justification except that the *Rai* of Champaner had never completely submitted to the authority of the Gujarati Sultan. Therefore, Champaner was considered as a place which could be plundered without any scruple The Persian historians have tried to give a colouring to the incident and mention that the *Rai* of Champaner attacked Malik Sida and in the battle Malik Sida and a number of his men were killed. Rai Patai[1] carried away two elephants besides all the goods and equipment in the camp, all of which belonged to the stables of the Gujarati Sultan. But from the same sources we learn that it was Malik Sida who first violated the peace of Champaner thereby provoking the Chief to take action

The action of Jai Singh Rai Patai of Champaner was taken by Mahmud Begada as a challenge to his authority and he invaded Champaner to punish him. However, it is clear that it was only a pretext,[2] because we find Mahmud Begada determined to extirpate Champaner which seems to have been a fairly powerful state Mahmud Begada had made his first move in 876 A.H./ A.D 1471-72. Nizam-ud-Din[3] says "it was reported to the Sultan that Jai Singh, son of Gangadas, Raja of Champaner, having become proud by the help and patronage of Sultan Ghiyath Shah of Malwa, had allowed the rebels of Baroda and Dabohi, a passage through his territory, and had the disposition of raising a rebellion The Sultan marched from Mustafabad and advanced to punish him." Mahmud Begada, however, could not come to Champaner in that year because he was informed of a disturbance of the *Zamindars*[4] of Cutch and had to go there immediately. After some time[5] Mahmud Begada made another attack on

[1] Rai Patai or Patai Rawal is only a contraction for *Pavapati Rawal i e* Rawal, Lord of Pava Pavagad was the name of the fortress of Champaner. *District Gazetteer, Bombay Presidency,* III, (Kaira and Panch Mahal), p 186, *Indian Antquary,* LXIII, p. 2.

[2] *Commissariat,* p. 193, "This incident was seized upon by Mahmud as a pretext for invasion of Champaner"

[3] *T.A* III, pp 148-149, (Tr) p 257. [4] *Ibid*, III, p 149.

[5] The year seems to be 884, as after this incident the narrative of A.H. 885 is given in *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*

The name Champaner is said to have come from Champa, according to one account a *Vania,* and according to another a *Kunbi,* who founded the city during the reign of Van Raj of Anhilvada (748-806) Champa is also called a Bhil

Champaner. While he personally remained at Saonli near the bank of the river Mahey, he sent forces to cause destruction in the territory of Champaner In nature it was a sort of punitive expedition. Sikandar has clearly mentioned that Mahmud was constantly engaged in thinking about the conquest of Champaner [1]

The truth was that Mahmud Begada was not prepared to tolerate the continued existence of the small and yet powerful Rajput principality of Champaner, because, though it owed a formal allegiance to the Gujarati Sultan, it always sought the help of Malwa when in distress. Besides, this help from Malwa had made the Rajputs of Champaner bold enough to defy Gujarat officers and they had even given shelter to Gujarati rebels.

The incident of 887 A H /A.D. 1482 in which Malik Sida was killed and royal elephants and horses were captured, was considered by Mahmud Begada as sufficient cause to settle the issue of Champaner once for all. The traditional belief in amassed wealth in the fort of Champaner further added appetite for conquest. Mahmud Begada started on 1st of *Zilhijja*[2] 877 A.H /11th Jan. 1483 A.D. from Ahmedabad and by successive marches reached Baroda and pitched his tents there. Rawal Jai Singh[3] mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din and Sikandar as Rai Patai took alarm and immediately sent his envoys with a message of peace and submission. But Mahmud Begada declined all negotiations and insisted settlement only by sword and dagger.[4]

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 133

بعد آن هر سال سلطان از احمدآباد به مصطفیٰ آباد می رفت و چند گاه سیر و سکار در آن حدود نموده، به احمدآباد تشریف آورد - اما از دغدغهٔ تسخیر چانپانیر خالی نبود -

For bardic version of Mahmud Begada's concern of Champaner see, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, III, p 186

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 134-35, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 27.

[3] The names of the Chauhan chiefs of Champaner, recorded in an inscription found at Nahani Umarvan near Halol, are.

Raja Shri Ramdev, Shri Changdev, Shri Chachingdev, Shri Sonamdev, Shri Palhansingh, Shri Jitkaran, Shri Kempu Raval, Shri Viradhaval, Shri Savaraj, Shri Raghavadev, Shri Trimbak Bhup, Shri Ganga Rajeshvar and Shri Jayasingh Dev. Vide, *District Gazetteer, Bombay Presidency*, III, (Kaira and Panchmahal), pp 304, 305

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 135 (*Continued on next page*)

The envoys returned disappointed and informed Rai Patai about the determination of the Sultan. Rai Jai Singh thereupon betook himself to his mountain fortress and resolved to defend it to the last.

Though Sikandar does not mention it Nizam-ud-Din says that Mahmud Begada sent in advance Taj Khan and 'Azd-ul-Mulk, Bahram Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan[1] to besiege the fort. Mahmud Begada also advanced and passing Champaner encamped in the village of Karnai on the Malwa road, and appointed Saiyid Badi Alangdar, to guard the road and bring provisions. Rawal Jai Singh seems to have offered severe resistance, because we find the siege lasting for bout two years; besides, in spite of Sultan's precautions, the Rajputs fell upon the convoys bringing provisions under the escort of Saiyid Badi Alangdar, and carried away the entire provisions, much to the chagrin of the Gujarati Sultan. But Mahmud Begada continued the siege. He caused elaborate trenches and covered ways to be constructed which were gradually extended up to the base of the fortress.

Rawal Jai Singh[2] made another overture for peace and offered heavy compensation in gold and provisions, but this offer too like the previous one was rejected

Rawal Jai Singh finding that no peace was possible with Mahmud Begada tried the same method to procure succour from Malwa which had been adopted by Rawal Gangadas. He sent his most intelligent and trusted minister, Sewa Rai,[3]

(*Continued from pre-page*)

هر چند وکلای او استغفار نمودند، بدرجهٔ قبول نیفتاد و فرمود که میان ما و شما الحال غیر از شمشیر و خنجر پیغام و پیغام گذار نخواهد بود ـ

1 *TA* III, p 159

2 According to bardic stories, Rawal Jai Singh had been cursed by the goddess *Kali* and hence his destruction was inevitable The story runs that once in the time of *Navaratri* festival Jai Singh, the Patai Raval, went to see the women of his capital dance and sing Among the women was one of great beauty, and the chief, overcome by the sight of her, caught hold of her robe But she, for it was goddess *Kali*, turning in anger cursed, telling him that his kingdom would soon pass away. Vide, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, III, (Kaira and Panchmahal), p 186

3 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 135, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 28; *Firishta*, II, p 508, *T A.* III, p. 159

to Sultan Ghiyath Shah seeking his help with a message that "When in the former times Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Ahmad, besieged Champaner, Sultan Mahmud Shah came to help and assist the slaves, and released us from the siege, and now Sultan Mahmud Gujarati has come and is again besieging Champaner. If you, considering our ancient relations of servitude to you, would advance to release us, it would be the cause of an increase of your protection and bravery A sum of one lakh of *tankas* for every stage of march would be remitted to your officers as a contribution towards your expenses."[1]

Sultan Ghiyath Shah on receiving this message accepted the terms and immediately marched out and encamped at Nalcha.[2] It was at Nalcha, that before proceeding further he summoned the *'Ulama* and asked for a *fatwa* But before we take up the purport of the *fatwa* we may well examine the reasons that led Ghiyath Shah to seek the *fatwa* Nizam-ud-Din has not made this point clear. In the Malwa section he says that Ghiyath Shah following his arrival at Nalcha, summoned the learned men and *Qazis* of his *majlis*, and in the Gujarat section he says that Mahmud Begada on receiving the news of Ghiyath Shah's advance, himself moved to Dohad where he received information that Ghiyath Shah had summoned the *'Ulama* and the *Qazis* and had returned after their *fatwa*. But Sikandar is very clear. According to him, Sultan Mahmud Begada on receiving the news

[1] *T A* III, (Ti) p 551, *Text*, pp 160 and 356, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 135;
Sikandar says—

اگر سلطان از مند و بصوب جانبانیر بامداد عزیمت فرمایند
خرج هر منزل یک لک تنکه که هرتنکه بهست تنکه' اکبری
برابر است، بیس کس تمام -

Mir'at-i-Sikandari does not give the entire text, but mentions one lakh *tankas* for every stage of march which has also been mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din in the Gujarat section of his *Tabaqat Zafar-ul-walih*, p 28, does not mention the amount but simply says that he sought the help of Ghiyath Shah and fixed the payment of a stipulated sum for every halt, *Firishta*, II, p 508; *Commissariat*, p. 194, has "one lakh of silver *tankas* for everyday march", *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*, fol 326b Tahir Muhammad mentions of a rosary (*Tasbih*) of pearls among the presents sent to Ghiyath Shah

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 135, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 28, *T A* III, p 160 and p 356, *Firishta*, II, p 508

that Sultan Ghiyath Shah had come out to Nalcha and was organising his forces there, immediately by rapid marches arrived at Dohad which is situated on the borders of Mandu and Gujarat, leaving the siege of the fort of Champaner in the hands of a few nobles He further says that Sultan Ghiyath Shah pondering over the ultimate result retraced his steps on a pretence to the effect that the great *'Ulama* and distinguished *Qazis* who had been summoned had opined that way [1]

Thus we find that Sultan Ghiyath Shah after accepting the terms had started from Mandu, but while at Nalcha when he received information that Sultan Mahmud Begada had moved towards Dohad, he became apprehensive of the situation Sikandar clearly states that it was the consideration of the ultimate result that led him to think Ghiyath Shah had already seen the might of Mahmud Begada, because twice during the reign of his father, it was Mahmud Begada's intervention that had prevented Mahmud Khalji from getting the fruits of his labour in the Deccan He was not confident that he would be able to score a success against Mahmud Begada particularly when in the previous reigns, in every battle the Gujaratis had gained the upper hand. But as he had moved out and it was not befitting for him to return without reason,[2] he summoned

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 136

سلطان غیاث‌الدین پی به عاقبت امور برده بوسیلهٔ حیله فسخ عزیمت نمود و آن این بود که علمای عظام و قضاة کرام را طلبیده استفتاء نمود ـ

Commissariat, p 194 "The Malwa ruler accepted the terms and marched out with his army as far as Nalcha Mahmud Begada, leaving the conduct of the siege to his officers, proceeded with his troops to the Malwa frontier, but on arriving at Dohad, he was informed that Ghiasuddin had abandoned his design on being approached by the *Qazis* and other learned men of his court for going to help an infidel "

[2] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 28 Haji-ud-Dabir has made the point very clear He says, when Ghiyath Shah received information of Mahmud Begada's movement towards Dohad, he called the *'Ulama* and told them that he was afraid, because if Mahmud occupies Champaner and becomes free from it he would proceed towards the boundary of the kingdom of Malwa Haji-ud-Dabir subsequently says, after the verdict was given by the *'Ulama*, Ghiyath Shah under the cover (or shelter) of this verdict returned to his capital

the *'Ulama* and the *Qazis* and asked for the *fatwa* The text of the *fatwa* no doubts portrays great religious fervour—that a Muslim Sultan had invaded the territory of *Kafir*, could he or could he not go to the succour of a Hindu against a Muslim. Of course the *fatwa* was given against rendering assistance to a *Kafir*, as it was against the *Shar'*.

That such a pronouncement was merely to satisfy the Sultan is obvious. We have already noted that in the previous reign, Mahmud Khalji had asked for a similar *fatwa* under identical conditions and the verdict given was that rendering of assistance was lawful Then the political condition and military strength of Mahmud Khalji was strong and it was what the Sultan wanted But in the present case when Sultan wated to avoid an encounter with Mahmud Begada, because Gujarat had a superior military force, the *fatwa* was altered Thus it was not out of any religious consideration but out of purely political consideration, that the *fatwa* was sought and received. In those days, religion was taken into consideration in politics, but the role it played was that of a hand-maiden who would be too willing to do what the master wanted It is, therefore, erroneous to conclude that there was any religious solidarity among the Muslim rulers of medieval India (in the fifteenth century)

Though Ghiyath Shah by his pusillanimity saved himself from defeat, politically he committed a blunder Hoshang Shah and Mahmud Shah both had realised the importance of these petty Rajput States remaining within the territory of Gujarat. These states were ever willing to assert their independence and thus were a thorn in the body-politic of the rival country. Besides, Champaner had greater importance for Malwa. It was not only a buffer, but a strong Rajput principality with good resources, and though politically subordinate to Gujarat, it was friendly towards Malwa. Champaner also stood as a barrier against Gujarati encroachments into Malwa Mahmud Begada had realised this importance and had, therefore, made his determination to wipe it off once for all. By refusing aid to Champaner, Ghiyath Shah allowed the demolition of this barrier which seriously exposed the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom to the Gujarat menace. The religious sentiments of a few *'Ulama* and *Qazis* might have been satisfied, but at the cost of their own kingdom, and for which their children had to pay within fifty years when Malwa lost

her independence for which Dilwar Khan, Hoshang Shah, and Mahmud Khalji had spared no pains Mahmud Begada not only conquered Champaner but made it his capital and named it as Muhammadabad [1] Its status was raised as it became a mint town with mint epithet of *Shahr-i-Mukarram* and remained the second political capital for the next fifty years.[2]

BAHLOL LODI'S RAID ON ALHANPUR

Sultan Bahlol Lodi of Dehli had been struggling against the declining power of the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpur, and at one stage being hard-pressed by the Sharqis had sought help from Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, but before he could receive help, Mahmud Khalji had died After the death of Mahmud Khalji, while Ghiyath Shah followed a peace policy, Bahlol Lodi had been slowly increasing his power, and towards the end of his career, *i e* sometimes in 893 A H /A D 1488 he invaded the territories of Bayana, Hindaun, Kalpi and finally raided Alhanpur, which was an outpost of Ranthambhor. Firishta says that conjunction of the planets Saturn and Jupiter etc in 889 A H /A D 1484 was followed by disturbances amongst which was the destruction of Palampur near Ranthambhor. While the year of invasion has not been mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din, Firishta[3] gives the year as 889 A H /A D 1484 Nizam-ud-Din has mentioned the event in connection with the habits of Ghiyath Shah,[4] but in the section dealing with the Dehli Sultans, he has mentioned it almost towards the closing years of Bahlol Lodi's reign.[5] While describing the incident in the section of Malwa history he says, that when Bahlol Lodi invaded the territory and was causing destruction, the officers could not inform the Sultan as he was almost inaccessible, which means that the invasion took place after Ghiyath Shah had withdrawn himself from public appearance The author of *Tarikh-i-Nasir-*

[1] *JR B B R A S* XXI, p 292, "*Coins of Gujarat Sultanate*" by P Taylor Taylor writes "Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on plate III the margin of which reads not Mahmudabad but very clearly Muhammadabad *Urf* Champaner "

[2] *Commissariat*, p 197 Delighted with the climate of Champaner, Mahmud transformed this ancient Hindu city into a Muslim capital, renamed it Muhammadabad and gave it the honorific mint epithet of *Shahr-i-Mukarram* or the Illustrations town, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 31

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 507

[4] *T A* III, p 352, (Ti), p 546 fn 2

[5] *Ibid*, I, p 313.

shahi informs us that after completing twenty years of rule the Sultan decided to rule from behind the curtain and he took to secluded life [1] His accession took place in 873 A H , therefore in 893 A.H. he took up this position. Therefore, from this it seems that the invasion should have taken place towards the end of 893 A H or beginning of 894 A H This date is also corroborated by Ni'matullah[2] who says that Bahlol marched to Alhanpur after settling Jaunpur on Barbak Shah and Kalpi on A'zam Hamayun son of *Shahzada* Khwaja Bayazid, and then subduing the local chief of Dholpur

So far as the invasion itself is concerned, we have no more details available than that Bahlol Lodi invaded Alhanpur and caused great damage to the territory According to Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, when Sultan Bahlol Lodi invaded the territory of Alhanpur and caused great damage by destroying the countryside, in spite of the fact that Sultan Ghiyath Shah had given instructions to inform him of the happenings what might take place in his kingdom, no one dared to inform him of this damage that was being caused to the territory of Alhanpur. From this two inferences emerge; one, that the Sultan was not negligent of the happenings of his state, and second, that the officers of the state had become hopelessly incompetent and did not dare inform the Sultan about their incompetence. However, Ghiyath Shah must be given credit for his knowledge about the situation and the ability of the generals, because, finally when the *wazirs* decided to inform him, and the message was sent to him through Hasan,[3] the Sultan immediately sent orders to Sher Khan bin Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Chanderi, to march against Bahlol with the armies of Bhilsa and Sarangpur. Sher Khan after collecting the troops proceeded towards Bayana and Sultan Bahlol immediately retraced his steps towards Dehli. Though the Afghan historians do not mention it, but Nizam-ud-Din clearly says that Sher Khan pursued him and advanced towards Dehli, which may be interpreted as a few stages towards Dehli. Sultan Bahlol concluded peace with him, and gave presents, upon which Sher Khan returned and rebuilt Alhanpur[4] and returned to Chanderi Wolseley Haig says, "So averse

[1] *OR* 1803, fol 4a [2] *Makhzan-i-Afghani* (Roy), pp 47, 48

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 507

[4] *T A* III, p 352 *Firishta*, II, p 508

was he from war that when Bahlol Lodi raided Palampur, near Ranthambhor, he would not take the field himself, but ordered Sher Khan governor of Chanderi, to obtain satisfaction from the invader." Baini Prasad is of the opinion that Ghiyath Shah did not take the field in person because of laziness and inertia. But if we take into consideration the ease with which Sher Khan drove away Bahlol Lodi, it would be at once clear that the nature of the attack was not a serious one, and Sultan on such occasions would prefer to send one of his generals rather than taking the field in person. It is also not unlikely that Bahlol Lodi had observed the indifference of Ghiyath Shah, when he had occupied the territories of Kalpi and Bayana, which had been dependent buffer states of Malwa, he thought of cutting off a slice from the territories of the Malwa kingdom. But when he found that the Sultan was not prepared to suffer the loss, he hurriedly withdrew

THE EFFECTS OF THE POLICY OF GHIYATH SHAH ON MALWA

Whatever justification we may put forward for the conduct of the Sultan, the effect of the policy pursued by Ghiyath Shah proved certainly detrimental to the interests of Malwa Sultan Hoshang had laid down the foundation of a policy of creating buffer states, internally autonomous, but dependent on Malwa. The policy of Hoshang was further intensified and developed by Mahmud Khalji Mahmud Khalji had preserved Kalpi, Bayana, Hindaun and Champaner, all as strong satellites of Malwa, and had thus encircled Malwa with barriers But Ghiyath Shah reversed the policy of Mahmud Khalji. In his enthusiasm to maintain peace with neighbouring kingdoms, he allowed Kalpi and Bayana to be occupied by Bahlol and Champaner to be annexed to Gujarat Thus he quietly allowed the Gujarat territory to extend upto the frontiers of Malwa, and similarly the Dehli kingdom to consolidate and become powerful. Thus he paved the way for the decline of the kingdom. That the kingdom survived for two generations was only because of the spirit "Malwa for the Malwis" that had been cultivated by Mahmud Khalji

FACTIONAL TROUBLES DURING THE REIGN OF GHIYATH SHAH

The bad effects of Sultan Ghiyath Shah's negligence of administrative duties, and of entrusting the work into the hands of Nasir Shah were visible towards the end of his reign His two

sons, 'Abdul Qadir and Shuja'at Khan though real brothers[1] became rivals for the throne. The author of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*, in his attempt to please Nasir Shah has so much distorted the events and covered them with his pompous Persian that we hardly get any information, but from Nizam-ud-Din who has been closely followed by Firishta, we learn that trouble started when Shuja'at Khan, who had the title of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din, started machinations against Nasir Shah.[2] Shuja'at Khan's main strength was in the support of *Rani* Khurshid, who controlled the entire harem establishment and thus had an ascendancy over the old officers appointed by Ghiyath Shah Nasir Shah, finding this position, started replacing the old officers with his own men. Short-tempered and hasty as he was, he did not consider the eventualities. The result of this was that when he appointed the eunuchs, *Shaikh* Habib and *Khwaja* Suhail over the *Khalsa* lands which were previously looked after by Yakan Khan, Amman and Munja *Baqqal*,[3] it provided the necessary pretext for complaint to the old Sultan. These officers complained to *Rani* Khurshid who seized the opportunity and asked Shuja'at Khan to inform the old Sultan at an opportune moment Shuja'at Khan misrepresented the facts and informed the Sultan that Malik Mahmud *Kotwal* and Seva Das *Baqqal* had become partisans of Nasir Shah and were organising rebellion and that they have seized certain *mauzas* which were parts of his *jagir*

Ghiyath Shah seems to have lost his power of judgment, because while on the one hand he had entrusted the work of administration to Nasir Shah, on the other hand, he did not hesitate to give orders without consulting Nasir Shah On this occasion he gave orders for the execution of Malik Mahmud

[1] *TA* III, p 357, *Haft Gulshan*, for 129a,

ناصرالدین و علاءالدین پسران سلطان که هر دو از بطن رانی خورشید دختر راجه بکلانه بودند ، باهمدیگر محاذات عظیم واقع شد ـ

[2] *TA* III, p 358 says, Shuja'at Khan represented to Sultan Ghiyath Shah that Nasir intended treachery to which the old Sultan did not pay much attention, *OR* 1803, fol 9a, does not mention the name of Shuja'at Khan, but simply says that some *Kafirs* and low caste people were trying to instigate the Sultan against Nasir Shah, *Firishta*, II, p 508.

[3] *TA* III, p 359, *Firishta*, II, p 510

Kotwal and Seva Das without even enquiring from them about their conduct and ordered the destruction of their houses and families

The execution of these officers so much annoyed Nasir Shah that he withdrew from state business,[1] and did not for some days attend on the Sultan The withdrawal of Nasir Shah and his absence gave further opportunity to Shuja'at Khan and *Rani* Khurshid who in connivance with Yakan Khan and Munja *Baqqal* reported to the Sultan the absence of Nasir Shah and took up the direction of government into their own hands The old Sultan acquiesced to this arrangement but as he was not sure of the intentions of Nasir Shah, and because some disinterested persons had informed him about the motives of Shuja'at Khan and *Rani* Khurshid in misrepresenting the conduct of Nasir Shah, he did not give any orders for Nasir Shah and waited to see the course of events

While the Sultan was still waiting and watching the course of events, the partisans of Nasir Shah acted hastily *Shaikh* Habibullah and *Khwaja* Suhail considered Munja as the chief brain and at the first opportunity killed him[2] The murder of an officer, the news of which was conveyed to him by *Rani* Khurshid infuriated the Sultan The Sultan despatched Yakan Khan with a number of men to seize the murderers and bring them from the house of Nasir Shah where they had taken refuge.[3] *Shaikh* Habibullah and *Khwaja* Suhail, however, got information of the Sultan's orders, and they left the house of Nasir Shah before the arrival of Yakan Khan While going away they went on saying, "We are going to the house of the *Qazi*, whoever wishes to make any complaint about the murder of Munja *Baqqal*, let him appear there." Yakan Khan on his arrival at the house of Nasir Shah sent a message to which Nasir Shah replied "*Shaikh* Habibullah and *Khwaja* Suhail did not kill

[1] *TA* III, p 359, *Firishta*, II, p 510

[2] *OR* 1803, fol 9a, says that Nasir Shah ordered the execution of Munja.

فرمان لازم الاذعان صدور یافت که تا علی‌الفور مونجا
کفر کیش راس رئیس مخالفان دین بود و دبو غرور در دیغوله
دماغ جای داده و سایر هندوان را نسبت باو به تحقیق پیوسته،
سرش از تن و روح از بدن جدا کردند ـ

[3] *Firishta*, II, p. 510

Munja *Baqqal* under my orders and I do not know where they have gone" Yakan Khan did not accept this reply and in spite of the orders of Sultan that they were on no account to forego any of the minutiae of respect and honour towards Nasir Shah, kept the harem of Nasir Shah under guard for three days.[1]

However when the Sultan learnt that the murderers had escaped he thought it useless to cause further harassment to Nasir Shah, and sent *Mushir-ul-Mulk* and Manahi Khan with a message to Nasir Shah[2] The text of the message as given by Nizam-ud-Din indicates that the Sultan wanted to pacify his son, and also that the feelings between the father and the son had become strained[3]

Though the tone of the message was quite conciliatory, but for Nasir Shah there was ample reason for taking caution, as the possibility of his being imprisoned by the Sultan could not be altogether ignored.[4] Nasir Shah, however, took the chance and met his father and was restored to his former position But soon after Nasir Shah started zealously looking after the affairs of the kingdom, *Rani* Khurshid started her machinations Taking advantage of the construction of a palace by Nasir Shah in the vicinity of *Ghiyath Shahi* palace, *Rani* Khurshid represented to the Sultan that Nasir Shah was building the palace in the vicinity only to act treacherously It seems that Ghiyath Shah had not altogether forgiven his son, or that the old man was fast losing his judgment and could not act with prudence It may also mean that while the Sultan had entrusted the work of administration, he expected that his permission would be taken for undertaking any new project or alteration of policy or appointment of officers The old Sultan gave orders to Ghalib Khan, the *Kotwal*, to completely destroy the new construction. This act completely exasperated Nasir Shah and he left Shadiabad with his adherents on the night of 7th *Ramazan* 905 A H / 6th April 1500 A.D. for Dhar[5]

[1] *T A.* III, p 360.

[2] *OR* 1803, fol 10b It does not mention Manahi Khan

[3] *T.A* III, (Tr) p 556; "If my son's heart has not been aggrieved and the dust of pain has not clouded the seat of his mind he should as in former days, come to me, for I have no more strength to endure the pain of separation and estrangement"

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 511, clearly says so, but Nizam-ud-Din only says he had hundred reasons to be cautious

(*Continued on next page*)

The departure of Nasir Shah without permission was equivalent to declaration of rebellion So far as Nasir Shah was concerned, he had ample justification for taking such a course We have already noticed that the Sultan's conduct during this period was sadly wanting in consistency, besides, the affairs were mostly conducted by the manipulations of *Rani* Khurshid That *Rani* Khurshid wanted to place Shuja'at Khan on the throne is obvious, though the Sultan favoured Nasir Shah and had already declared him to be his successor. Thus the destruction of the buildings in 905 A H /1499-1500 A D. marks a turning point in the attitude of Nasir Shah. He was convinced that no good could result from staying in Shadiabad and that the old Sultan, while losing his balance of mind, was absolutely under the control of *Rani* Khurshid and her partisans

After his departure while he was on his way to Dhari, *Shaikh* Habibullah and *Khwaja* Suhail joined him, and his party daily began to increase.[1] *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan despatched a force in pursuit of Nasir Shah without informing the Sultan.[2] But the Sultan wanted to pacify Nasir Shah and sent Tatar Khan to conciliate him and to bring him back

Tatar Khan left his men in the village of Bakan Kalu and went in company of Malik Fazlullah the *Mir Shikar*, for negotiations with Nasir Shah Nasir Shah on receiving the message of his father wrote a reply and handed it over to Tatar Khan.[3] This attempt of Ghiyath Shah to conciliate his son failed, because Nasir Shah would not compromise with the existing order in Shadiabad and wanted a full control and complete change [4]

(*Continued from pre-page*)

[5] *OR* 1803, fols. 11b-12a, mentions that, Nasir Shah finding that irreligious people had ascendancy over the Sultan, decided to move out lest delay should bring catastrophe which might get beyond control Firishta places the incident in 905 A H /1499-1500 A D

[1] *T.A* III, p 361, *Firishta*, II, p 511, *OR* 1803, fol 14 a, does not mention the name of the persons who joined him

Dhari is different from Dhar as it is said to have been situated in the midst of jungle

[2] *T A* III, p 361, *Firishta*, II, p 511; *OR* 1803, fol 13b only says that forces pursued Nasir Shah

[3] *T A*. III, p 361, Nizam-ud-Din does not give the text of the letter, but *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* mentions the contents of the letter of Ghiyath Shah and the reply of Nasir Shah

[4] *OR* 1803, fols. 14b & 15a From the letter it appears that while Ghiyath Shah was full of affection, Nasir Shah was arrogant

Tatar Khan, finding that nothing was possible and at the same time not willing to take up arms against Nasir Shah, retired to Barah [1]

The army which had been sent from Shadiabad against Nasir Shah was hesitant to take action, because they were afraid of Nasir Shah's wrath when he would became Sultan, and at the same time they were afraid of returning to Mandu for fear of punishment by *Rani* Khurshid [2] The inactivity of the army gave time to Nasir Shah who moved to Tahnah where Malik Mehta and Malik Haibat, two Ghiyath Shahi *amirs*, joined him and thus further increased his strength He then moved to Rajwiyah where *Maulana* 'Imad-ud-din Afzal Khan with a body of local *zamindars* came and joined his camp [3]

A feeble attack of the forces sent by *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan was easily repulsed by Malik Mallu, one of the followers of Nasir Shah [4] The defeated forces returned to Mandu The prestige of Nasir Shah was so much increased that at Aujud, where he had moved on 16th *Shawwal* 905 A.H /15-5-1500 A D , Mubarak Khan and Himmat Khan came and joined him and as he reached Sundarsi, Rustam Khan, the governor of Sarangpur, presented himself with some elephants and other property as tribute Thus with increased power he finally came to Ujjain where *amirs*, *faujdars* and *thanadars* began to come and wait upon him.[5]

The increasing power of Nasir Shah alarmed *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan who now reported to the Sultan that as the *amirs* and *thanadars* of the country were joining Nasir Shah, he would very soon attack and besiege Shadiabad Ghiyath Shah again opened negotiations but this time sent two divines, *Shaikh* Auliya and *Shaikh* Burhan-ud-din with his message To reconcile Nasir Shah, he reminded him that the reins of government had already been given to him long ago, and that if he disbanded the mob that had collected round him and

[1] *T.A.* III, p 361, also Tr p 557 fn 4

[2] *Ibid* , III, p 362 The author of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* assigns the cause of inactivity of the army to their fear of Nasir Shah He says, "the army which had been sent from Shadiabad though it was strong enough yet dared not approach the prince's army and encamped at a distance of one *kos* "

[3] *Ibid* , III, p 362 has Ajaiyah, but in (Tr) III, p 558 it is Rajawiyah, *Firishta*, II, p. 511 has Ahadiyah

[4] *OR* 1803, fol 15b

[5] *Ibid* , fol 18b, *Firishta*, II, p. 512.

came to him, the affairs of the empire would be again entrusted to him. He could then if he so liked give the territory of Ranthambhor to Shuja'at Khan who was like his son [1] But Nasir Shah did not reply, on the contrary, he moved his camp from Ujjain to Dipalpur and then to Dhar.[2]

From the side of *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan, two attempts were made by Yakan Khan[3] to repulse Nasir Shah but both of them failed. Yakan Khan on the second occasion was so much scared by the opposition of *Khwaja* Suhail, Malik Mahta, Malik Haibat and Mian Jiw that he retraced his steps without fighting Nasir Shah moved further and on 22nd *Zilhujja* 905[4]/19-7-1500 A D. occupied Nalcha *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan attempted to dislodge Nasir Shah by sending Ghiyath Shah to Nalcha The presence of the old Sultan might have won over the disaffected nobles and thus reduced the strength of Nasir Shah. Ghiyath Shah at this time seems hardly to have been in his proper senses, because he allowed himself to be shifted as desired by the *Rani* However, after his litter had been carried some distance he ordered it to be taken back to his palace After the failure of this measure, *Rani* Khurshid realised that the siege of the fort was imminent and she directed Shuja'at Khan to repair the fortifications and arrange its defence by posting commanders on various bastions. Nasir Shah also moved and besieged the fort. Ghiyath Shah made his last effort to settle the dispute and sent *Qazi* Mushirul Mulk to arrange for peace. But Mushirul Mulk, finding that Nasir Shah did not give a favourable reply, and being afraid to face *Rani* Khurshid, preferred to stay where he was.[5]

As the siege prolonged a strong feeling developed inside the fort that the office of Sultan be given to Nasir Shah and desertions started The first to escape out of the fort were Muwafiq Khan and Malik Fazlullah *Mir Shikar* who were at once welcomed by Nasir Shah. Discovering disaffection, *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan started replacing officers. But in their anxiety, they committed blunders by sentencing Muhafiz Khan and Surajmal to death. This alarmed the old *amirs* and they started

1 *T A* III, p 363, *Firishta*, II, p 512

2 *OR* 1803, fols 19a, 19b, *Firishta*, II, p 512 says in *Ziqa'd* of 905 A H he marched from Ujjain towards Dhar

3 *T A*. III, p 364, *Firishta*, II, p 512

4 *Ibid*

5 *Firishta*, II, p. 513, *T A* III, p. 365

secretly negotiating with Nasir Shah. In the meantime, provisions inside the fort fell short and there were no means of procuring them from outside.

Nasir Shah now started making attempts to storm the fort. Thus on 18th *Safar* 906 A H /13-9-1500 A D he made his first attempt and though he succeeded in entering the fort along with Dilawar Khan Jungju, but had to return before the opposition of Shaja'at Khan.[1] In the meantime he received reinforcements by the arrival of the sons of Sher Khan of Chanderi who came with one thousand horsemen and eleven elephants Titles of Muzaffar Khan and As'd Khan were conferred on the sons of Sher Khan by Nasir Shah What valour failed to achieve, treachery accomplished for Nasir Shah The garrison of the Malpur or Balpur gate, secretly negotiated with Nasir Shah and agreed to open the gates to his forces. Thus when *Shaikh* Habibullah, Muwafiq Khan and *Khwaja* Suhail and others reached the Malpur gate on the night of 24th *Rabi'* II 906 A H [2]/ 17-11-1500 A D , Zabardast Khan the keeper of the *silahkhana* of the fort slew the keeper of the Malpur gate and allowed them to enter the fort

Shuja'at Khan was unable to drive them out of the fort and took shelter in the *harem* of Ghiyath Shah *Shaikh* Habibullah sent his ring according to previous arrangement to Nasir Shah as a signal of success and then Nasir Shah finally entered the fort The *amirs* inside the fort hastily collected and offered their allegiance to Nasir Shah Shuja'at Khan and *Rami* Khurshid were imprisoned.[3] Sultan Ghiyath Shah seems to have been afflicted for all that happened He left his palace and took up his residence in the Sarasati Palace.

Thus the struggle that had started finally resulted in the victory of Nasir Shah. Ghiyath Shah virtually became a prisoner, because Nasir Shah immediately summoned his second son, Shihabuddin and gave him the *Safa Bagh* as his residence which was situated near the palace of Sultan Ghiyath Shah,[4] ostensibly with the intention of keeping a watch over the activities of the palace Nasir Shah ascended the throne on Friday, the 27th

[1] *T A* III, p 366, *Firishta*, II, p. 513, has 17th *Safar*, 906 A H

[2] *Firishta*, II, p. 513; *T A* III, p. 367, According to *OR* 1803, fol 28b, he entered the fort on 23rd *Rabi'* II

[3] *Firishta*, II, pp. 409, 514.

[4] *T.A* III, p 368

Rabi' II 906 A H [1]/20-11-1500 A D. and as a mark of his accession, the *Khutba* was read in his name and pearls and other jewels which were showered over the umbrella, were distributed.

Sultan Ghiyath Shah abdicated on 13th *Jumada* II/4-1-1501 A D. When he met his son, he embraced him and gave him the cap of State and the robe of woven hair of Saiyid Nur Bakhsh which he used to wear on the day of public audience and along with royal crown, handed over the keys of the treasury and bade him adieu with felicitations and congratulations [2]

DEATH OF GHIYATH SHAH

Sultan Ghiyath Shah had not to lead this ignominious life of a virtual imprisoner for long According to Nizam-ud-Din[3] Ghiyath Shah had been suffering from dysentry during his imprisonment and it was due to that disease that he died on 9th *Ramazan* 906 A H /29-3-1501 A D Firishta,[4] however, does not give any date but simply says that after a few days of his imprisonment Sultan Ghiyath Shah died The author of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* also does not give any date except that Ghiyath Shah died in 906 A H. at the age of 80 years and after having ruled for 34 years.[5] Both Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta mention that it was rumoured that Nasir Shah had administered poison to his father Firishta however rejects this story, and says that a patricide could not have ruled the number of years that Nasir Shah did

If we examine the incidents before the death of Ghiyath Shah, we find that the probability of the rumour is remote. Nasir Shah had moved out of Shadiabad on 9th *Sha'ban* 906 A H / 28-2-1501 A D to subjugate the rebellion of Sher Khan and other nobles. While he was encamped at Dhar he received the news

[1] *T A*. III, p 367, *Firishta*, II p 514

[2] *T A* III, p 368, *OR* 1803, fols 34a, 34b, *Firishta*, II, p 514;

سلطان غیاث‌الدین او را در کنار گرفت و بسیار گریست و سر و روی او را بوسید ـ قبای موئینه از بادت سید محمد نور بخش که در روز عام یا روز های معتبر می پوسید ، با و مرحمت نمود و تاج سلطنت بر فرق او نهاده مقالید خزاین سرد و تهمت و مبارکباد سلطنت گفته رخصت منزل خود فرمود ـ

[3] *T A* III, p 367 [4] *Firishta*, II, p 509 [5] *OR* 1803, fol 42b.

of his father's death Thus it is evident that he personally could not have administered poison to his father as was later believed by Jahangir [1] Ghiyath Shah died a natural death

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY OF GHIYATH SHAH

By nature Ghiyath Shah was a man of mild disposition and from his father he had inherited artistic tastes. His reign and his personality have been painted in such a varied colour and so many stories have been associated with his name that it requires a good deal of patience in piecing them together before one can properly understand his character and personality

HIS FONDNESS FOR WOMEN

We find that Ghiyath Shah was specially fond of women and filled his seraglio with beautiful slave girls and daughters of *Rajas* and *Zamindars*. Nizam-ud-Din says, altogether sixteen thousand slave girls were collected in his *harem* [2] In fact his quest for beauty was so great that in spite of so many beauties from different lands, he felt that none came up to the ideal standard of beauty [3] But when he found that his servants were causing anxiety to the parents by kidnapping their

[1] Jahangir has simply recorded the gossip that he found in circulation when he visited Mandu According to him, "It is well known that that wretch (Nasir-ud-din) advanced himself by the murder of his own father, Ghiyath-ud-din, who was in his eightieth year Twice he gave him poison, and he twice expelled it by means of a *Zahr-muhra* he had on his arm The third time he mixed poison in a cup of *sharbat* and gave it to his father with his own hand, saying he must drink it As his father understood what efforts he was making in this matter, he loosened the *Zahr-muhra* from his arm and threw it before him, and then turning his face in humility and supplication towards the throne of the Creator, who requires no supplication, said 'O Lord, my age has arrived at eighty years, and I have passed this time in prosperity and happiness such as has been attained to by no king Now as this is my last time, I hope that Thou wilt not seize Nasir for my murder, and that reckoning my death as a thing decreed Thou wilt not avenge it' After he had spoken these words, he drank off that poisoned cup of *Sharbat* at a gulp and delivered his soul to the Creator" Vide, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Rogers and Beveridge), pp 365-66.

[2] *TA* III, p 351. The figures seem to be an exaggeration

[3] A story is related that one of his courtiers, pretending that he had purchased her brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her parents not knowing came and complained to the Sultan. Though they gladly resigned her, the Sultan grieved much over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation, he mourned long and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace *Firishta*, II, pp 506, 507

daughters and presenting them to the royal *harem*, he discontinued his quest and gave orders to that effect. These slave-girls were not left idle in the seraglio They were trained in different arts and professions according to their aptitude and talent, and employed according to their proficiency Some of the slave-girls were taught the art of singing and dancing and playing on the instruments. Education was also imparted to them and some were employed in reading and recitation Some of the slave-girls were taught the art of wrestling, and quite a large number of them were employed as personal body guards of the Sultan. Abyssinian slave-girls, five hundred in number, dressed in male attire and equipped with swords and shields formed one band called the '*Habiwash Band*' Five hundred Turki slave-girls in Turkish male dress formed the '*Mughal Band*' and were armed with bows and arrows He had a thousand of *Hafizahs* among his slave-girls For his intellectual companionship, he trained five hundred slave-girls who excelled in the keenness of their intelligence in various kinds of learning. One of these girls had to be present at his meals every day. To have greater knowledge and control over the administrative affairs of the state, he set up an office in his seraglio where he appointed a selected number of slave-girls to check up the affairs of the state. This supervision extended to the fields of receipts and expenditure accounts of the country and the supervision of the various *Karkhanas*.[1] Thus we find that his seraglio consisted of officers of court, courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer-readers, embroiderers, soldiers and followers of all crafts and callings

Law and order in this huge establishment was maintained by Ghiyath Shah himself. By his impartial behaviour, he saved his *harem* from the ranklings of jealousy. He treated all of them with such equality that each one of them had every day two silver *tankas* and two *mans* of grain,[2] and in equalising this allowance he acted with the greater meticulousness, so that *Rani* Khurshid who was the highest of the members of the seraglio and had great love for him, and great authority in all affairs, also had two *mans* of grain by lawful weight and two

[1] *TA* III, pp 350-51, *Firishta*, II, p 504.

[2] To stress his equal treatment such stories are narrated that mice parrots, pegions and such other inmates also received the same amount

tankas.[1] For supplying provisions and other articles of luxury Ghiyath Shah had established a market in the *harem* so that whatever went to the market of the city for sale was also sold there.

RELIGIOUS LEANINGS OF GHIYATH SHAH

With so many women in his *harem* Ghiyath Shah was not given to the pleasure of the senses. He was deeply religious and, according to his instructions, whenever he changed his raiments, the '*Hafizahs*' blew on the new dress reciting lines of the Koran He was very particular about offering the daily five prayers, and if at any of the hours of prayer he was asleep, according to his orders, he was sprinkled with water and even dragged out of his bed. If he was engaged in any festive function and did not rise on receiving one or two intimations, his slave-girls caught his hand and lifted him up. His other instruction was that whenever he was in company and having some conversation, two slave-girls were to hold a sheet of white cloth just to remind him of the shroud[2] Thus he seems to have been following the life of a sufi and endeavoured to remain completely detached from pleasure though surrounded by it His life was something like that of a lotus or a swan which lives in water without being affected by it[3] Besides, Ghiyath Shah had extreme aversion for liquor and stimulants and he is said never to have touched them[4]

[1] *TA* III, p 351, (Tr) p 545, *Firishta*, II, p 505 Firishta makes a slight alteration, that this "equality was maintained among all of them except in the case of *Sardars* and *Mansabdars*" But as the aim of the Sultan seems to have been to treat all with equality, Nizam-ud-Din's version seems to be more correct because he has stressed his statement by saying that even *Rani* Khurshid was given the same amount, *Briggs*, IV, p 237 Briggs has altered the statement of Firishta into "two seers of grain and two *tankas* of copper"

[2] *TA* III, p 353, (Tr) p 548 "To keep himself constantly reminded of the destructibility of this world and the ultimate end of life, he had ordered to those who used to remain round him that when he was engaged in pleasure or was engaged in talking with worldly people they should bring a piece of cloth to which he had given the name of 'shroud' in his presence" *Firishta* II, p. 505

[3] However, his way of life affected adversely the life of his son Nasir Shah, who seems to have developed the notion that happiness consists in mere sensual enjoyment; and unlike his father he was addicted to liquor.

[4] A story is related that one day they had made an electuary for him,

(*Continued on next page*)

Like his father, Sultan Ghiyath Shah too was extremely generous in distributing wealth to his subjects and maintained an unlimited charity[1] In distributing wealth in the name of religion, he even overlooked the possibilities of deception. People, however, started taking advantage of the Sultan's religious sentiments and did not hesitate to deceive him Even his trusted friends at times misused his religious sentiments But it is evident that he was not a fool He always knew the truth but would not deprive any one from receiving his bounty[2] and at the same time he never wanted to hurt the feelings of

(*Continued from pre-page*)

and had spent a lakh of *tankas* on it Ghiyath Shah, before taking the medicine, ordered that they should tell him the names of the ingredients and it then appeared that there were three hundred and odd drugs in one *diram*, of which one was nutmeg The Sultan declared his inability to use it and ordered it to be destroyed When it was suggested that it should be given to someone else the Sultan replied "Alas ! that I should prescribe for another what I do not consider right for myself" It is also said that he caused one of his horses to be let loose into forest, because he feared that the beast was cured of its disease by administration of some medicine which contained liquor *T A* III, p 353, *Firishta*, II, p 505, *Haft Gulshan*, fol. 127a

[1] It is related that he had instructed that whenever he offered thanks to God they should give fifty *tankas* to deserving men by way of thanks-offering Another story is that he had ordered that to each person young or old to whom he might speak outside they should give one thousand *tankas* in shape of reward Outside the audience hall wheat was regularly weighed and distributed to the faqirs *T A*. III, pp 351-52, *Firishta*, II, p 506.

[2] This point is illustrated from the two stories that are related about him One story is that a man brought to the Sultan a hoof of an ass claiming that it was the hoof of the ass of Jesus The Sultan ordered the man to be paid 50 thousand *tankas* Three others who brought three more hoofs by turn sold each of them to the Sultan for a similar sum A fifth man also brought one hoof and the Sutan ordered for payment of a similar sum to him also One of the attendants, however, remarked, "Perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs" The Sultan immediately replied that perhaps the fifth was right and any of the previous ones might have brought a wrong hoof Vide, *Firishta*, II, p 507, *Haft Gulshan*, fol 128a.

This certainly indicates that he knew from the beginning that there was hardly any truth in any of the hoofs

The other story is that one of the friends of Shaikh Muhammad Nu'man came to him from Dehli hearing the news of Ghiyath Shah's bounty He wanted help from the Sultan for the marriage of his daughter Shaikh Nu'man introduced the man with a handful of wheat, picked up from the store of grain which was being weighed and distributed to the poor, saying that the man had memorised the Koran and had finished the Koran on each grain

(*Continued on next page*)

any one by openly declaring that he knew the truth However, his policy had a bad effect on the administration. It led to corruption and encouraged the officers to improve their resources at the cost of the state

(*Continued from pre-page*)

of wheat The Sultan said that he would receive it in the mosque, because "If he is not fit for it (King's visit) his present is priceless". The Sultan then received the grain in his lap asking the man to pour it from the pulpit The Sultan then favoured him with a variety of gifts. *T A.* III, pp 351-54; *Firishta*, II, p 505; *Mushtaqi* (*RUTKB* II, pp. 132-33)

Chapter X

'ABD-UL MUZAFFAR NASIR SHAH
(A Period of Stagnation)

Rebellion of Sher Khan—Relations with Gujarat—Trouble in Khichwara—Relations with Mewar—Relations with Khandesh—Rebellion of Shazada Shihabuddin—Nomination of Mahmud Shah as successor—Nasir Shah's last advice to Mahmud Shah—Death of Nasir Shah—Estimate of his Character and Achievements

'ABD-UL QADIR the eldest son of Ghiyath Shah ascended the throne of Malwa during the life-time of his father It was an usurpation which was only given legal shape by Ghiyath Shah who abdicated in his favour, though abdication took place after he had proclaimed himself ruler, by causing the *khutba* to be read in his name Though we do not know the year of his birth, but from the statement that he was born during the reign of Mahmud Khalji,[1] we can safely conclude that he was fairly advanced in years when he ascended the throne A child of many rejoicings and hopes of greatness as foretold by the astrologers,[2] 'Abd-ul Qadir proved to be the cause of great affliction in the last days of Ghiyath Shah Though he had been given the necessary training, it seems that the doting affection of his father had spoilt him. Contrary to the habit of his father, he was addicted to wine and unlike his father he was rash and short-tempered

Nasir Shah had ascended the throne as the result of a rebellion; and over the blood of his younger brother Shuja'at Khan and his children.[3] The dust of rebellion that he had raised to ascend the throne did not subside with his accession No doubt his rival party was crushed but a number of Ghiyath Shahi nobles and some of his erstwhile companions raised the standard of rebellion, and his first concern with his accession, therefore, became the suppression of these rebellions.

Though the cause of these rebellions has not been mentioned

[1] *T A* III, p 358
[2] *Firishta*, II, p 509; *T.A* III, p 358
[3] *Firishta*, II, p 508

either by Nizam-ud-Din or by Firishta, but an analysis of the events mentioned by them throws sufficient light on the causes. According to Nizam-ud-Din, Nasir Shah immediately on his accession put to death Yakan Khan, Amman, Muhafiz Khan Jadid, and Mufarrah Habshi and other men who had been hostile to him, and some men were kept in imprisonment [1] The merciless execution of Shuja'at Khan and his children, followed by the execution of the officers of the Ghiyath Shahi regime, must have alarmed the remaining officers and all such persons who had either remained loyal to the old Sultan or had carried out the orders of the court during the ascendancy of *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan, became doubtful of their safety The confinement of the old Sultan in his palace must have further increased their alarm As a result of this alarm the officers began to think of leaving Shadiabad so that they could be away from the new Sultan

Among such *amirs* who were alarmed by the behaviour and attitude of Nasir Shah, Sher Khan was the most powerful The author of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*[2] says that the original name of Sher Khan was Mu'in 'Ali and the title of Sher Khan had been conferred upon him for his bravery and he had been given the charge of Chanderi which had also been in the charge of his forefathers. The sons of Sher Khan had rendered help to Nasir Shah in capturing the fort of Mandu, but after the formal accession of Nasir Shah, misunderstanding arose between the two and Sher Khan became scared for his own safety.[3]

[1] *T.A* III, p 368

[2] *OR* 1803, fol 35b

An inscription in the Katti Ghati clearly bears evidence that Chanderi had been under the charge of the family of Sher Khan The inscription sets forth that the lofty gate of Gumti and Keroli, near the tank, were erected by Juman (Jiman) Khan, son of Sher Khan, by the order of *Sultan-us-Salatin* Ghiyath Shah on the 14th *Jumada* II 900 A H /1494-95 A D

The inscription is in both Persian and Nagari Script *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (Cunningham), II, p 406, *J A S B* II, p 548

[3] *OR* 1803, fol 36a, says, people instigated Sher Khan that by staying in the court he might come to grief

بعضی مفسدان ـــــ خاطرش را از هجوم وساوس شیطانی
ـــــ بکدر و پر اندیشه ساختند ـــــ که البته از سیاست
سرای سلطانی ترا گزندی نفسانی لاحق خواهد شد ـ

Nasir Shah was apprehensive of the strength of Sher Khan and to reduce his power ordered that all the elephants which were kept under Sher Khan for the protection of the frontier should be restored to the Royal *Pil Khana*, and for this purpose Mubarak Khan (*Jatharıyah*) and Habibullah were deputed [1] Such a move on the part of the new Sultan must have been the real cause of misunderstanding and alarm

Sher Khan, realising that Nasir Shah held most of the country whereas he could expect more support in his own province, started for Chanderi. When Nasir Shah came to know of this move of Sher Khan, he asked Mubarak Khan and 'Alam Khan (Habibullah)[2] to persuade Sher Khan to give up his plans and also to reassure him [3] But the mistrust was further aggravated, because some people had, in the meantime, informed Sher Khan that Mubarak Khan was persuading Nasir Shah to assign to him the *iqta's* of Sher Khan which were on the boundaries of Jathra.[4] Sher Khan, therefore, did not pay any heed to the words of Mubarak Khan, rather he attempted to imprison both of them[5] but 'Alam Khan managed to escape and immediately informed the Sultan of the situation.

In the meantime Muqbil Khan, the governor of Mandsaur, also left Mandu without permission for his own province. Sultan Nasir Shah entrusted the task of seizing Muqbil Khan to Suhail.[6] Suhail marched against Muqbil Khan, but reaching near him learnt that he had already collected a large force and that many *Sardars* had also joined him, and he found himself not strong enough to overcome him Meanwhile his followers reminded him that if he failed in the task entrusted to him he would be severely punished by the Sultan Suhail, therefore, turned and joined Sher Khan, who had by then reached Ujjain [7] 'Ali Khan and some other men who had

[1] *OR* 1803, fols 36b & 37a

[2] *TA* III, p 371 'Alam Khan was the title of Habibullah

[3] *T.A* III, p 369, *Firishta*, II, p 515

[4] *OR* 1803, fol 38a

[5] *T.A* III, p. 369

[6] *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* (*OR* 1803), fol. 38b, *TA* II, p. 368 Mahabat Khan as mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din may be identified with Suhail of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*, the author of which generally mentions the names and not the titles

[7] *OR* 1803, fol. 38b, *TA* III, p 369, *Firishta*, II, p 515; Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta do not mention the place where Mahabat Khan joined Sher Khan

been supporters of the previous regime also left the fort and joined Sher Khan [1]

Sultan Nasir Shah, finding that his officers were unable to subjugate the rebellious nobles, and it is quite likely that he started doubting their integrity, decided to take the field in person and to crush them once for all

Nasir Shah entrusted the administrative duties in Shadiabad to his son Shihab-ud-din and himself moved out on 9th *Sha'ban* 906 A.H /28 2 1501A D. and took up his residence in the Jahan-numa palace in Nalcha.[2] Sher Khan who was in Ujjain decided to give battle to Nasir Shah and for this purpose he returned to Dipalpur and started plundering and ravaging the town and countryside [3] When Nasir Shah received the news of Sher Khan's activities in the vicinity of Dipalpur, he also moved his camp to Dhar. While he was at Dhar, Nasir Shah received the news of his father's death.[4] Nasir Shah observed the mourning for three days and on the fourth day proceeded against Sher Khan Nasir Shah divided his army and placing the advance "*Qarawal*" of the army under *Khan-i-A'zam* Mallu Khan, ordered him to march ahead of himself in pursuit of Sher Khan [5] Sher Khan could not face Mallu Khan and marched straight to Chanderi but as a precautionary measure he destroyed all the towns that lay on his route[6] so that the pursuing army might find it difficult to procure provisions and other supplies When Sher Khan left Dipalpur, Malik 'Ain-ud-din and Malik Salar separated themselves from his camp and joined the forces of Mallu Khan [7] Sher Khan had to fight

[1] 'Ali Khan was the title given to Malik Piyara by *Rani* Khurshid and Shuja'at Khan when desertion had started in Shadiabad during the siege of Nasir Shah, Thus 'Ali Khan was a trusted servant of the old regime whose loyalty could be doubted by Nasir Shah *OR* 1803, fol 39b

[2] *T A.* III, p 369; *Firishta*, II, p 515, *OR* 1803, fol 41a mentions the date but does not speak of administrative duties being entrusted to Shihab-ud-din.

[3] *T A* III, p 369, Nizam-ud-Din says that Sher Khan returned at the instigation of Mahabat Khan, and also says that he plundered the town of Hindiah *OR* 1803, fol. 43a *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* does not mention the instigation of Mahabat Khan, and says that Sher Khan plundered Dipalpur

[4] *T A.* III, p. 369, *Firishta*, II, p. 515, *OR* 1803, fol 42a.

[5] *Ibid*, fol 43b. [6] *Ibid*, fol 46a

[7] *OR* 1803, fol 44b, *T.A* III, p. 370 says 'Ain-ul Mulk and some other *Sardars* separated from him and joined the camp of Nasir Shah

a battle near Sarangpur where he was defeated.[1] Sher Khan then fled to Chanderi, but there too he could not feel himself safe and, therefore, escaped to the country of Erachh and Bhander.[2] Nasir Shah on his way to Chanderi found that the *muqaddam* of Mankawali was also rebellious, so he halted at Mankawali[3] and suppressed the rebellion with severity. He then proceeded to Chanderi and occupied it. Though it was a severe summer[4] Sultan remained there According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*, Saiyid Jamal-ud-din Ishaq who was a prominent divine of the place tried to mediate and patch up the differences between Nasir Shah and Sher Khan. He recalled to Nasir Shah the past services of Sher Khan and recommended that he should be pardoned, and to Sher Khan he wrote a letter asking him to return and to seek the pardon of the Sultan.[5] But this attempt of Saiyid Jamal failed because, as the same authority informs, Sher Khan did not rely to this letter and remained where he was When the rainy season set in, the *Shaikhazadas* of Chanderi wrote to Sher Khan that most of the soldiers and *amirs* of Nasir Shah had returned to their *jagirs* and that if he would attack the local people would also join him and it would not be difficult for him to reoccupy Chanderi even if he failed to seize the person of the Sultan [6] This message was certainly meant to entrap Sher Khan and therefore, must have been contrived with the connivance of the Sultan. The fact that *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* is absolutely silent on this point indicates that the court historian did not dare mention it as it would belittle the achievement of the Sultan.

Sher Khan, on receiving this information, immediately marched to within six *karoh* of Chanderi As Sultan Nasir Shah had expected it he had appointed Iqbal Khan and Mallu Khan,

1 This battle near Sarangpur is not mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*

2 *TA* III, p 370 *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* does not mention the names of the places but simply says that Sher Khan left Chanderi That Sher Khan escaped to Erachh and Bhander and Nasir Shah could not pursue him indicates that these places were outside his territory, *Firishta*, II, p 515 has only Erachh

3 *OR* 1803, fol 51b 4 *Ibid.*, fol 50a

5 *Ibid*, fol 53b This attempt of Saiyid Jamal has not been mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta

6 *T.A.* III, p. 370, *Firishta*, II, p 515 *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* does not mention ,although on fol 56a it mentions the arrival of the rainy season.

with a well-equipped army consisting of four thousand soldiers, '*mast*' elephants and two lakh of *tankas* in cash to defray their expenses, to meet Sher Khan Sher Khan relying upon the information of *Shaikhzadas* came forward to meet them, but found them ready in battle array and had to give them battle A contested battle was fought in which Sher Khan was fatally wounded by an arrow and Sikandar Khan was killed [1] Mahabat Khan (*Khwaja* Suhail) placed wounded Sher Khan in a box and placing it on an elephant fled from the battlefield. Iqbal Khan pursued him for some distance, then returned and informed the Sultan Nasir Shah immediately started, while in the meantime Sher Khan died and Mahabat Khan buried him and fled towards the boundaries of the kingdom. Nasir Shah, however, exhumed the dead body and sent it to Chanderi and ordered it to be suspended from the gallows [2] For Chanderi he made fresh arrangements and appointed Bihjat Khan as the governor of the place [3] With the death of Sher Khan the rebellious elements that were collecting round him melted away and it now only remained for Nasir Shah to punish such persons as were suspected of having sympathy with Sher Khan Of such persons the name of *Shaikh* Habibullah who had been given the title of 'Alam Khan by Nasir Shah has been mentioned[4] by Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta who, it is said, had the intention of acting treacherously and was waiting for an opportunity. Sultan Nasir Shah halted at

[1] *TA* III, p 370, *Firishta*, II, p 515.

Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi says, Sher Khan was killed by an arrow of the Sultan, though on fol 57a, it mentions that on Sher Khan's return to fight, Iqbal Khan was sent against him The manuscript abruptly ends at this stage On fol 55b he says, Sikandar Khan was a brother of Sher Khan

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 516

[3] *TA* III, p 371, *Firishta*, II, p. 516, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, II, p. 406

Cunningham makes the following remark. "Sher Khan rebelled on the death of Ghiyath Shah in A D 1500 and was apparently succeeded by his son, as Firishta states that the Government was conferred on Himat Khan, which I presume to be same name as Jiman Khan as the two might easily be mistaken when written in Persian Character "

However I find in the text of Firishta the name written as Bihjat It is also difficult to accept that Nasir Shah would entrust the government of Chanderi to the man, whose father was not only punished but whose dead body was exposed at Chanderi

[4] *TA* III, p 371; *Firishta*, II, p 516

'Adilpur[1] and there he gave orders for the imprisonment of 'Alam Khan and sent him to Shadiabad in advance of himself.

RELATIONS WITH GUJARAT

Sultan Nasir Shah, after quelling these rebellions, returned to Shadiabad on 10th *Sha'ban* 907 A H /18-2-1502 A D After returning to Shadiabad, Nasir Shah spent some time in the peaceful pursuits of life He seems to have maintained good relations with Mahmud Begada of Gujarat. Sikandar[2] says that "in A.H 906 when Sultan received information that Sultan Nasir-ud-din son of Sultan Ghiyath-ud-din had ascended the throne of the Sultanate after murdering his father, he thought of invading Mandu But as Sultan Nasir Shah submitted humbly he did not invade" Nizam-ud-Din also mentions it, but adds that a petition expressive of his humility and submission along with subsidy came from Nasir-ud-din The Sultan (Mahmud Begada) having taken pity on his humility and distress, gave up the intentions of marching there [3]

From the above-mentioned statement of Sikandar and Nizam-ud-Din it is clear that Nasir Shah had appeased Mahmud Begada so as to avoid any possible aggression from Gujarat. The terms "submission and subsidy", do not actually imply an acceptance of suzerainty of Gujarat over Malwa. It is worth noting at this stage that Mahmud Begada though aggressive and militant had always avoided invasion of Malwa He had gone twice to the help of the Bahmani Sultan Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Shah against Mahmud Khalji I but even then he had marched into the Deccan, though his *amirs* had advised him to march into Malwa [4] Again on the accession of Ghiyath Shah when the *amirs* advised him to invade Malwa, he had coolly rejected their advice on the ground that it was not permitted by law.[5] Similarly on this occasion too he announced his intention, but did not actually invade Such a course of action can possibly have two explanations. The first explanation can be found in the treaty that had been concluded between Gujarat and Malwa in 1452 A D. by Mahmud Khalji I and Qutb-ud-din whereby the spheres of activity of the two kingdoms

1 *Firishta*, II, p 516, *Briggs* IV, p 242, *T A* III, p 371, has Sadulpur.
2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 147
3 *T A* III, p 165.
4 *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p 101
5 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 120, *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi*, II, p 140

had been defined and both had found to their advantage that it had saved them considerable amount of material resources from being unnecessarily wasted The second explanation can be that he had known the results of life-long hostility that had existed between Ahmad Shah and Hoshang Shah which had resulted in nothing except giving opportunity to turbulent elements in both the kingdoms to raise their heads and create disturbance in the hope of getting help from the rival Sultan Even when Mahmud Khalji invaded and Gujarat was threatened from internal disaffection, the results achieved had been nothing though Mahmud Khalji was defeated Thus in the prolonged struggle, though the pride of Malwa was always humbled, Gujarat had gained nothing As a far-sighted and wise ruler he took lesson and appreciated the wisdom of Mahmud Khalji in concluding the treaty with Gujarat and wanted to honour the treaty

TROUBLE IN KHICHIWARA

In the year 908 A H /1502-3 A D trouble started in Khichiwara. The Khichi Chauhans had been subdued by Mahmud Khalji I after the conquest of Gagraun, but they had not been completely crushed The troubles that had enveloped the Khalji kingdom due to the rebellion of Nasir Shah and, after his accession, the rebellion of Sher Khan, gave the Rajputs of Khichiwara an opportunity to assert their independence But Nasir Shah was not the person to tolerate such an attitude of these Rajput chiefs. He had already proved his determination by doggedly pursuing Sher Khan till he had succeeded in completely liquidating his faction On receiving the news of this disturbance in Khichiwara, he moved to Nalcha on 22nd *Ziqa'd* 908 A.H /19-5-1503 A D to lead an expedition into that territory.

When he reached the town Agrah,[1] he found the climate of the place pleasant and fixed his camp there. From Agrah he sent his forces in different directions to subdue the Rajput chiefs of Khichiwara. He stayed there for quite some time

[1] *TA* III, p 372; *Firishta* II, p 516, *JR BBRAS* XIX, p. 173, Campbell identifies Agrah with the village of Akbarpur on the south bank of Narbada about fifteen miles from Mandu, which is wrong, because Nasir Shah had gone north into Khichiwara and it is from this place Agrah that he subdued the chiefs of the locality

The place is not Akburpoor as mentioned by *Briggs*, Vol IV, p. 243.

till the subjugation of the region and during the course of his stay, erected a grand palace.[1] Though the reason for such construction is given as the pleasant climate, but it is not unlikely that he thought of constructing a palace for his residence so that he might occasionally come and stay there and keep the locality subdued. After subjugating the Rajputs of the locality, he returned to Shadiabad Mandu

NASIR SHAH'S RELATIONS WITH MEWAR

In 909 A H /A.D. 1503-4, Sultan Nasir Shah led an expedition into Mewar and invaded Chittor[2] Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta say that when he arrived in the heart of the country, the Rana and all his *zamindars* sent tribute to Nasir Shah and Bhawani Das,[3] son of Shivadas, one of the relatives of Rana Rai Mal, offered his daughter as tribute to the Sultan The Sultan gave her the title of *Rani Chittori*, and bestowing many favours on Bhawani Das returned towards Shadiabad. However, before accepting this version of the Muslim historians, it would be better if we examine the circumstances of the reign of Rana Rai Mal. The last nine years of the rule of Rana Rai Mal *i e* from 1500 A.D to 1509 A D were the period of troubles and internal civil war between Prithviraj, Jaimal and Sanga, the three more powerful sons of Rai Mal The State was considerably weakened because of their mutual quarrels. It is quite likely that during this period some of the dissatisfied chiefs might have sought the help of Nasir Shah. But in 1503-4 Prithviraj the eldest son of Rai Mal was living and was looking after the affairs of the State. He was an able and powerful prince and it is difficult to believe that Nasir Shah could have defeated him The position seems to be that Nasir Shah could not prove effective in Mewar

1 *T A.* III, p 372, *Firishta*, II, p 516
2 *Firishta* II, p. 516 Firishta calls the place Jaipur
3 *T A* III, p 372, *Firishta*, II, p 516

در سنه تسع و تسعمایه بطرف جیے پور حرکت کرد و رانا رنمل و زمینداران دیگر پیش کش فرستاده و جیونداس که قرابت با رانا داشت ، دختر خود را پیش کش سلطان کرد و سلطان ناصرالدین او را رانی جیپوری نام نهاده ، عازم مراجعت گشت ـ

but as quite a number of the princes of the various branches of the house of Bappa Rawal had been defeated and ousted by Prithviraj, they had sought shelter in Malwa, and Bhawani Das, who might have been one of them, gave his daughter to Nasir Shah who, to conceal his ineffective venture, made much of it by giving the name of *Ram Chittori* to this maiden sent to his *harem*

RELATIONS WITH KHANDESH

In the same year he received information,[1] that Nizam-ul-Mulk *Dakhni* was invading the territory of Asir and Burhanpur where Da'ud Khan had succeeded 'Adil Khan (September 28, 1501 A.D.) The Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh had kept friendly relations since the time of Raja 'Ali Faruqi with the rulers of Malwa. Nasir Khan Faruqi had tried to strengthen himself by marrying his daughter to the Bahmani crown prince 'Ala-ud-din but his younger brother Malik Iftikhar had taken shelter in Gujarat. In Gujarat the descendants of Malik Iftikhar had prospered and had married into the family of the Gujarati ruling house. A branch of the same house living in Gujarat under the patronage of the Gujarati ruler was a constant danger to the ruler of Burhanpur and, therefore, they had always kept themselves as allies of the Malwa rulers.[2] The weak policy of Ghiyath Shah had led 'Adil Khan II to accept 'Alam Khan, a descendant of Malik Iftikhar and grandson of Mahmud Begada, as his successor in preference to his brother Da'ud Khan. Thus he had pacified Mahmud Begada, but in 1501 A.D. when Mahmud was busy elsewhere Da'ud had ascended the throne at Burhanpur.

But Da'ud Khan was very soon involved with Nizam Shah *Dakhni* as a result of which he was attacked by Nizam Shah. Finding himself helpless and not daring to seek the help of Mahmud Begada as the latter had sponsored the cause of 'Alam Khan, he sought help from Malwa. Nasir Shah sent Iqbal

1 *Firishta*, II, p. 517 has Ahmad Nizam Shah Bahri

2 *Commissariat*, p 205 Commissariat is however of the opinion that "The Faruqi rulers of Khandesh whose headquarters were first at Thalner and later at Burhanpur, had always regarded the king of Gujarat as their natural protector and had paid him tribute, they had also invariably married princesses of the Royal house of Gujarat" This statement is true for the younger branch i e Iftikhar, the younger brother of Nasir Khan Faruqi, who had migrated to Gujarat and his descendants lived there.

Khan and *Khwaja Jahan*[1] with a strong force for the help of Da'ud Khan On the approach of Malwi forces, Nizam Shah withdrew into his territory. Da'ud Khan, in return of this help, caused the *khutba* in Khandesh to be read in the name of Nasir Shah. The real cause for reading of the *khutba*, however, is not to be sought in the assistance, but in the candidature of 'Alam Khan backed by Gujarat Da'ud Khan in reality by reading the *khutba* in the name of Nasir Shah theoretically proclaimed himself as being under the protection of Malwa, so that Malwa may consider it an obligation to protect him, and Mahmud Begada may be deterred from invading his territory for fear of unnecessarily getting involved with Malwa. So far as this policy was concerned, it served well, for Da'ud Shah remained as ruler of Khandesh till his death on August 28, 1508 A D.[2]

REBELLION OF SHAHZADA SHIHABUDDIN

Sultan Nasir Shah had rebelled against his father and had deposed him, but he could not forget the incident as a result of which he always suspected his own sons.[3] He had, by his cruel nature, antagonised quite a large number of *amirs* who found in Shihabuddin a ready instrument to be used against the Sultan Shihabuddin raised the standard of revolt in 916 A H /A D 1510-11 which, according to both Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, was an outcome of the instigation by the *amirs* [4] Shihabuddin had been proclaimed by Nasir Shah as his heir-apparent

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 517, *T A*. III, p 372

[2] On the death of Da'ud in 1508 A D Mahmud invaded Khandesh to place his own grandson on the throne There were two parties in Khandesh at this time, one of which supported the claims of a candidate put forward by Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar The display of force by Sultan Mahmud Begada broke up the other party and the king of Gujarat held a court at Thalner and installed his candidate on the throne of Khandesh with the title of 'Adil Khan III The new ruler cemented his alliance with Gujarat by marrying a daughter of *Shahzada* Khalil Khan (Muzaffar Shah II) *Commissariat*, pp 205, 206

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 517

و از آن که سلطان ناصرالدین خلجی با پدر خود سرکشی بسیار کرده بود، او نیز از پسر خود سلطان شهاب‌الدین در هراس بود ۔

[4] *Ibid*, II, p. 517, *T.A.* III, p 372.

and had been given the title of Sultan, but just as he had revolted against Ghiyath Shah, Shihabuddin too revolted against his father. Shihabuddin left the fort of Mandu and came to Nalcha where some of the *amirs* of frontier districts joined the rebellious prince which indicates that dissatisfaction was more in the distant places and also that the Sultan had lesser hold on these distant parts of the kingdom, whereas the central regions were more loyal to him

Shihabuddin moved out of Nalcha and took up his seat in Dhar. When Nasir Shah learnt of this revolt, he immediately moved out of Mandu and came to Nalcha, and from there he advanced towards Dhar. Nasir Shah had realised the seriousness of this revolt and, before leaving Mandu, had sought the blessings of Shaikh Hussain Ajmeri who enjoyed great respect of the people and had been staying in Mandu. The *Shaikh* blessed him with victory [1] Whatever truth may be behind this blessing, it certainly indicates that he had tried to win the people on his side over whom these medieval religious divines exercised great influence. At Dhar, Shihabuddin was defeated and he fled towards Chanderi He might have been taken over by the Nasir Shahi forces, but filial affection prevented the Sultan from pursuing him further.[2] He might have also thought of pacifying the prince and hence did not want to drive him to extremes. Shihabuddin, who by now realised his weakness, thought of invoking the help of Sultan Sikandar who had been for some time besieging Narwar He left Chanderi and moved towards Narwar and took shelter in the town of Sipri. Nasir Shah did not want his son to go into the camp of the Dehli Sultan and, therefore, to conciliate him, sent some of the wise men to give him proper counsel and to bring him back. But Shihabuddin could not be assured of his father's pardon He not only gave evasive replies but demanded some territory for himself. According to Nizam-ud-Din, Shihabuddin replied that "At present his shame and self-abasement prevent his acquiring the good fortune of waiting on your majesty. If a small part out of the many portions of the empire be bestowed on this slave, he would after a few days honour himself by rendering homage [3] From the message we find that Shihabuddin

[1] *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p 110

[2] *Firishta* II, p. 517, *T A* III, p 373

[3] *T A*. III (Tr), p. 571

suggested a partition of the kingdom, which could not be accepted by the Sultan. However, Nasir Shah did not pursue him further and preferred to return Shihabuddin on his part appealed to Sikandar Lodi from Sipri. According to Ni'amatullah,[1] "Shihabuddin, son of Sultan Nasiruddin, king of Malwa, having been disaffected towards his father, desired to meet Sultan Sikandar and started from Chanderi for Narwar When he arrived near the town of Sipri, Sultan Sikandar sent him a horse and a royal '*khilat*' saying that if he delivered Chanderi into the hands of his officers, he would offer him such a liberal assistance as would place him beyond the reach of Sultan Nasiruddin's violence Certain impediments unexpectedly arose for which the prince could not leave Malwa. The time being unpropitious for the surrender of Chanderi, the Sultan went back to his station."

APPOINTMENT OF MAHMUD AS HIS SUCCESSOR

When Nasir Shah found that Shihabuddin was not prepared to be reconciled and submit to him, he called his third son *A'zam Humayun* who was posted at Ranthambhor Nasir Shah then left Chanderi and moved to the town of Sipri,[2] and there held a full 'darbar' and proclaimed *A'zam Humayun* as his successor and gave him the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah.[3] At this time Shihabuddin must have crossed over to the territory of Lodi kingdom and, therefore, nothing is mentioned of him. While Nasir Shah was still in the vicinity of Sipri in the village of Behishtpur he fell seriously ill Nasir Shah by his policy of nominating his successor in preference to his elder sons created a problem There was already a large number of dissatisfied nobles, and Shihabuddin who had been declared heir-apparent on the accession of Nasir Shah and who had been entrusted to look after the palace of Ghiyath Shah—a position that he had enjoyed till his revolt, was certainly not going to accept this change without a challenge Besides, during his

1 *Makhzan-i-Afghani* (Roy), p 88, *First Afghan Empire*, p 144, Pandey says, "he waited on Sikandar in 1509, while the latter was encamped on the banks of the Sipri Sikandar received him well and promised to use his good offices for bringing about a reconciliation between the father and the son But he demanded surrender of Chanderi as its price The prince did not agree to it and went back to his headquarters"

2 *TA* III, p 373, *Firishta*, II, p 517 has Behishtpur

3 Firishta, says Mahmud was his third son

tenure as heir-apparent he must have raised a number of persons through his favour. Thus Nasir Shah created a problem and left the field open for civil war

NASIR SHAH'S LAST ADVICE TO MAHMUD SHAH

According to Nizam-ud-Din,[1] when Nasir Shah found that his condition was not satisfactory and he had no hope to live long, he summoned Mahmud Shah and important *amirs* and great men and in their presence gave some advice to Mahmud Shah. "As the great and holy God has selected this excellent son (of mine) from the entire people of the world, and has entrusted the bridle of the affairs of all people to his grasp of power, it behoves him, that he should not place his foot out of the high-road of worship of, and submission of God, and should not become subject to lust and sensuality, and should write the text of 'love to the people of God' on the leaf of his mind and the page of his heart He should also not withhold the favour of God from the people, as it has not been of the oppressed He should not in his public audiences give way to hesitation and weariness, and should not close the path of approach of the oppressed to him, and should properly listen to their words He should not also, in administering justice and equity, allow any difference between the weak and the strong and the high and the low; so that he may not become ashamed on the day of the judgment He should also treat with honour and respect all *Sayyids* who are the fruits of the garden of the Prophetship and of the emissary of God; and should make the high society of the learned, who are the heirs of the Prophet, green and fruitful by the benevolence of the clouds of his rewards He should also consider it right and proper to refrain from the society of stupid and foolish men, who are satisfied with the hush of words, and are ignorant and unmindful of the purity and greatness of saints. He should also lay the foundation of houses of piety and goodness which are the effects of one's

[1] *T A* III, pp 374, 375, (Tr.), pp 572, 573

The translator says in fn 4 "considering the latter's (Nasir Shah's) disposition, and his condition at the time it is not likely that he could make such a sensible and eloquent address "

However I am of the opinion that Nizam-ud-Din, a judicious and balanced writer, would not have mentioned it had he not come across it in some of the sources utilised by him, though it is quite likely that the words used by him might not exactly be the words used by Nasir Shah

good fortune, in all parts of dominions. In short he should devote all his energy in carrying out the wishes of God, and in administration of the affairs of the state always take counsel."

This advice of Nasir Shah is very interesting as it throws light on the duties of a monarch and prescribes the "should" and "should not" for a king. It is not unlikely that such a conduct of life had been prescribed by Sultan Mahmud I, the grandfather of Nasir Shah, and he, finding that his time has expired, wanted to emphasise them to his son so that symptoms of weakness that were visible in the state could be checked by him. It is also not very unlikely that being conscious of his own shortcomings, he wanted his son not to commit them. It was something like a warning to his son Among the things that a king should do, we find Nasir Shah laying stress on love for the subjects, administration of justice without distinction, respect and association of the learned and religious men, extension of benevolence and charity to the entire kingdom, accessibility to all and administration according to the counsel of the learned A king should not become subject to lust and sensuality, should not oppress his subjects and should never hesitate from appearing for public audience, and should not allow himself to be dominated by stupid and foolish persons *i e.* flatterers Thus in brief we find Nasir Shah only reiterating the duties of a monarch which had been often repeated earlier [1]

DEATH OF NASIR SHAH

According to Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta[2], Nasir Shah, while returning from Behishtpur (in the vicinity of Sipri) where he was already taken seriously ill, started taking baths in cold water in spite of the cold weather. This aggravated his disease causing his death[3] while he was still far away from the capital Shadiabad. Jahangir, however, in his *Tuzuk* gives an entirely different version. "It is well known," writes Jahangir "that in a state of drunkenness he once threw himself into one of the basins at Kaliyadaha, which was very deep. Some of the attendants in the *harem*

[1] A somewhat similar advice was given to Hoshang Shah by Ashraf Jahangir Samnani

[2] The versions of Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta fairly agree with each other, except for the insertion of the last advice of Nasir Shah by Nizam-ud-Din which is not to be found in Firishta

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 517

exerted themselves and caught his hair in their hands and drew him out of the water After he had come to his senses they told him that this thing had happened When he had heard they pulled him out by the hair of his head, he ordered the hands of the attendants to be cut off Another time when an affair of this kind took place, no one had the boldness to pull him out and he was drowned."[1]

The cause of death as mentioned by Jahangir is hardly convincing Firstly, because we find that Nasir Shah was already taken ill while at Behishtpur and was only taking a cold bath, secondly, in the medieval ages, the execution of a few slaves or attendants by a king was hardly ever noticed, and even a wretched monarch was protected, thirdly, Nizam-ud-Din clearly says that when the Sultan came to know that his end was near, he advised his son, and then after repentance deposited his life into the custody of the 'Al-Mighty' Death by drowning is an accident and certainly a person never knows when he is going to meet an accident. Jahangir, in fact, seems to be extremely prejudiced[2] against Nasir Shah, and in his aversion, has painted his death as a retribution for his execution of innocent attendants whose only fault was that they saved his life The narrative of Jahangir reads like fiction. Besides, the variations in the details of his narrative and that of Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta clearly indicate that he never tried to enquire into the realities, and wrote whatever impressions he had formed from hearsay.

Firishta says that Nasir Shah ruled for eleven years four months and three days.[3] He ascended the throne on 27th *Rabi'* II 906

[1] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Rogers and Beveridge), p 367

[2] The prejudice of Jahangir is clearly reflected in his memoirs where he writes, "It is reported that when Sher Khan, the Afghan, in the time of his rule, came to the tomb of Nasir-ud-din, he, in spite of his brutish nature, on account of Nasir-ud-din's shameful conduct, ordered the head of the tomb to be beaten with sticks Also when I went to his tomb I gave it several kicks, and ordered the servants in attendance on me to kick the tomb Not satisfied with this, I ordered the tomb to be broken open and his impure remains to be thrown into the fire Then it occurred to me that since fire is Light, it was a pity for the Light of Allah to be polluted with burning his filthy body, also, lest there should be any diminution of torture for him in another state from being thus burnt, I ordered them to throw his crumbled bones, together with his decayed limbs, into the Narbada "

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 518 According to Nizam-ud-Din, he ruled 11 years, 4 months and 23 days, *T A* III, p 375; *Briggs*, IV, p 244, has 11 years and 4 months.

A.H / 20-11-1500 A D. and therefore according to the statement of Firishta he should have died in the first week of *Ramazan* 916 A H /Dec 1510 A D. The death of the Sultan was a signal for his three sons to start the contest for the throne Though he had nominated Mahmud to succeed, but Shihabuddin put forth his claim on the ground that he had been nominated successor of the Sultan earlier. Thus a few months following the death of Nasir Shah were the days of trouble for Malwa.

AN ESTIMATE OF NASIR SHAH'S CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Born during the peak of Mahmud's glory, Nasir Shah had received all the care of a prince, but the affections showered[1] on him by his grandfather and father had only spoiled him He became stubborn and rigid with the result he was more dreaded than loved by his people. He was cruel by nature and showed no compassion for his own brother nor even for his nephews, whom he mercilessly executed on his accession[2] It was his fits of wrath and cruel nature that antagonised many of his nobles. He had no confidence in his sons The sorrow and affliction that he had caused to his father in his old age weighed heavily on his heart and the fear of retribution constantly haunted his mind

By nature he was ease-loving and a pleasure-seeker, but his addiction to wine and drugs had produced serious effects on his constitution. So much heat was produced in his body that he passed his spare time in water.[3] These weaknesses in his character were so pronounced that even his court historian could not but hint at them[4]

[1] Mahmud Shah and Ghiyath Shah in their great joy arranged festive entertainments which lasted for one month. Feasts were held where ordinary *'raiyats'* and learned men and deserving persons of the state were lavishly fed The astrologers also reported that he was born in an auspicious moment. On the seventh day after his birth he was given the name of 'Abd-ul Qadir, *T A* III, p 358 However it is strange that Shihab Hakim has not given any such account of rejoicings on the birth of 'Abd-ul Qadir

[2] He did not hesitate to fleece completely *Rani* Khurshid of all the wealth that had been given to her by Ghiyath Shah The *Rani*, keeping in view the probable harsh treatment of Nasir Shah, handed over everything without any show of resistance *T A* III, p 357

[3] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (R & B), p 367. Jahangir writes, "During his lifetime he always passed his days in the water in consequence of the heat that had acquired a mastery over his temperament" *T A*. III, p 374

[4] *OR* 1803, fol. 53a

(*Continued on next page*)

The punishment that he meted out to his female attendants, for no fault of theirs except that they saved his life,[1] indicates that he was base and degraded. But the killing of these female attendants with his own hand[2] indicates that he was also a sadist

(Continued from pre-page)

و بعد از آن در مسند فرمان روائی بعیش کامرانی و مقتضای جمال و جوانی جهانجه دانی، اشتغال نمودند ـ

1 It is stated that once in a state of drunkenness while he was lying on the sides of *Kalyadah* tank in Ujjain, he rolled and fell into the water The water was deep, but four of his female attendants exerted and managed to pull him out and changed his clothes Later when he came to his senses they narrated the incident But as he would not believe it they produced his wet clothes. Instead of rewarding them as they had expected he flew into a rage. *T A.* III, p 371, *Firishta*, II, p 516

2 According to Nizam-ud-Din Nasir Shah ordered all the four of them to be executed, but Firishta says that he flew into a rage, drew his sword, and cut down the poor and helpless slave-girls Jahangir also narrates the incident but says he ordered the hands of the attendants to be cut off

Chapter XI

MAHMUD KHALJI II
(End of Khalji Rule)

Accession of Mahmud Khalji II — Domination of the nobles — Expulsion of Mahmud from Shadiabad and accession of Sahib Khan — Appearance of Medini Rai—Restoration of Mahmud—Ascendancy of Medini Rai — Mahmud conspires for the assassination of Medini Rai — Open hostility of Rajputs — Attitude of Muzaffar II of Gujarat towards Malwa — Siege and conquest of Mandu — Restoration of Mahmud II — Effects of the activities of Muzaffar II and Rana Sanga—Bahadur Shah occupies Malwa — Estimate of Mahmud II

AFTER the death of Nasir Shah, according to his nomination, his third son[1] Mahmud Shah ascended the throne of Malwa But the accession of Mahmud Shah was immediately challenged by his eldest brother Shihabuddin who was moving around the borders of Malwa and seeking help from Sikandar Lodi Encouraged by the news of the death of Sultan, he (Shihabuddin) decided to return to Shadiabad and occupy the throne of Malwa, which he considered belonged to him, by virtue of his being the eldest and also because he had been nominated successor earlier. The coronation of Mahmud had taken place in the village of Behishtpur, which according to Nizam-ud-Din[2] took place on 3rd *Safar* 917 A H /2nd May 1511 A D While Mahmud was still at Behishtpur, Shihabuddin had already started his march towards Shadiabad But his passage was barred at Nalcha by Muhafiz Khan *Khwajah Sara* and Khawas Khan While Shihabuddin started negotiations, Mahmud, on receiving information of Shihabuddin's march towards Mandu, also marched towards the same direction by successive stages While Mahmud was still on his way, Shihabuddin, finding that Muhafiz Khan and Khawas Khan could not be purchased and that Mahmud was also marching in the

1 *Firishta*, II, p 517
2 *TA* III, p 375

same direction, left the place and moved towards Khandesh[1] and Mahmud peacefully entered Nalcha[2] and took up his residence in *Kaushak-i-Jahan-numa* on 2nd *Rabi'* I 917 A H./ 30-5-1511. From Nalcha Mahmud moved to Shadiabad on 6th *Rabi'* I which had been selected by astrologers to be auspicious and ascended formally on the throne of Malwa *i e* his formal coronation[3] took place on 6th *Rabi'* I 917 A H /3rd June 1511 A D

Mahmud ascended the throne of Malwa, which was full of troubles and required a monarch of strong will, firm determination and capacity of putting sustained labour But Mahmud lacked all these qualities, with the result that very soon the kingdom became a cockpit of the rival parties Of course he started well, by sending Jawash Khan along with a detachment of force and eleven elephants to crush Shihabuddin, and (perhaps) acting on the advice of his father, reinstated Basant Rai in the office of *Wizarat*[4] This appointment of Basant Rai, however, was not looked upon favourably by the other section of nobles who were aspirants for the same post. Among the Muslim nobles in the court we find two parties,[5] one consisted of Iqbal Khan, Mukhtas Khan, Sadr Khan and Afzal Khan and their adherents and the other party was formed by Muhafiz Khan, Khawas Khan and Jawash Khan. With Shihabuddin moving about and Sahib Khan in prison in Shadiabad, Mahmud could not feel secure and depended upon the support of these groups. But he followed a weak policy and instead of using them for his benefit, he played into their hands

Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan were the first to start trouble. They could not tolerate Basant Rai as they wanted the control of administration in their own hands Nizam-ud-Din blames Basant Rai and says "owing to his great pride and ignorance he did not maintain the usual relation towards the army and did not leave out any minutiae of meanness and mischief-making, and having adopted a harshness of behaviour, did not show

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 518, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 212.

[2] *T A* III, p 376.

[3] *Ibid*

[4] *T.A* III, p 377 says, Basant Rai held the post of *Wizarat* in the reign of Nasir Shah, *Firishta*, II, p 518.

[5] Though the two parties are not specifically mentioned but the part played by them clearly indicates that they formed two different groups

proper respect towards the *amirs* and *sardars*"[1] Wolseley Haig says that Muslim nobles resented his holding the high office of minister[2] But till then the question of Hindu and Muslim had not appeared on the soil of Malwa. Firishta's reasoning that *amirs* became hostile to him lest he should become too powerful, seems to be nearer the truth.[3] Basant Rai found misappropriation and misuse of funds and started dealing with them sternly Besides the phrase "*daqa'iq kifayat*" used by Nizam-ud-Din[4] indicates that he worked to introduce economy or thrift in the administration Such a measure would mean loss to the officers and enhancement of prestige and power of Basant Rai Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan with their associates waited for an opportunity and on 7th *Rabi'* II 917 A.H / 4-7-1511 A D murdered Basant Rai in the audience hall *Naqd-ul-Mulk*[5] who was a colleague of Basant Rai fled to the *harem* of the Sultan for the safety of his life The murder of the *Wazir* in the audience hall in the beginning of the reign certainly indicated that matters were not particularly happy. Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan then decided to cover up their heinous deed by pretending to be the well-wishers of the Sultan To them, securing the person of *Naqd-ul-Mulk* was necessary or else they would be exposed to his vengeance. They would have killed him before the Sultan could have known of it but because he had taken shelter in the *harem* of the Sultan, they had to send a petition to the Sultan The text of the petition as given by Nizam-ud-Din is very interesting, as it is more or less an expression of resentment by these *amirs* at the action of the Sultan The text of the petition reads, "Nothing has been done, and nothing will be done by these loyal slaves, except in the way of a sincere desire for Your Majesty's well-being, and it must be clear to your illuminating wisdom, that as the affairs (of the kingdom) have not been well arranged, the act of leaving the threads of the administration in the grasp of people who are strangers to us in creed and religion, is (likely to be) the cause

[1] *TA.* III (Tr), p 577 [2] *CHI* III, p 365
[3] *Firishta*, II, p 518 [4] *TA* III, p 377
[5] According to *Brihat Pausalik Pattavali*, Nakadal Malik/*Naqd-ul-Mulk* was the title given to Sangram Singh Soni by Malwa Sultan. According to *Buddhi Sagar*, Sangram Singh Soni had been a treasurer (*Bhandarik*) during the reign of Mahmud Khalji I and had accompanied him to Daulatabad in 1463 A.D.

of disorder in the conduct of government It has probably been submitted to Your Majesty by some of your well-wishers, what kind of treatment Basant Rai meted out to the *amirs* and to your other loyal adherents. His sole object was, that your old servants might become heart-broken, and they and their retainers might be dispersed This was in fact disloyalty on his part, and we your loyal servants, in a body, removed him out of the way *Naqd-ul-Mulk* is also following in his footsteps If it be your noble order, the world might be purified of the contamination of his existence "[1]

Mahmud found that he was at the mercy of these men. He could not judge who were really loyal to him. Basant Rai too does not seem to have any solid backing behind him except that of *Naqd-ul-Mulk*, who too was not strong enough either to resist these nobles or to give a powerful support to the Sultan Under these conditions he decided to oblige Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan by sending *Naqd-ul-Mulk* to them with an order that his life and property be spared Though Sultan Mahmud complied with the request of these two *amirs*, but the domination of these nobles created rancour in his mind [2] The *amirs* also seem to have agreed not to displease the Sultan to the extreme, and banished *Naqd-ul-Mulk* instead of taking his life.

Sultan Mahmud displayed extreme weakness in conducting this case and exposed the weakness of his character. Muhafiz Khan and Khawas Khan, the leaders of the other group of *amirs*, immediately decided to take advantage of this weakness of his character, They were jealous of the power acquired by Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas and started working upon the mind of the Sultan who was already finding the domination too irksome Muhafiz Khan was extremely clever[3] and well-acquainted with the weakness in the character of the Sultan He therefore represented to him in private that Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan wanted to raise to the throne[4] his brother *i.e.* Sahib Khan

[1] *T.A* III (Tr), pp. 577-78.

[2] *T A* III, p 378, (Tr) p 578. Nizam-ud-Din says, "Sultan Mahmud was aggrieved at these proceedings of the *amirs*, and at their domination : and the purity of his heart was changed to resentment "

[3] Nizam-ud-Din clearly says that his disposition was made of malice and wickedness and that he longed for the *Wizarat*, Vide, *T.A.* III, p. 378.

[4] *T. A.* III, p. 378, *Firishta*, II, p. 518 mentions that Muhafiz Khan at this stage insolently suggested the execution of Sahib Khan.

(*Continued on next page*)

The Sultan became suspicious about these two nobles and once at least he showed some reason and, instead of punishing them at once, he set about making enquiries and investigations

In this affair again we find the sound principles which had been adopted by Mahmud Khalji I were thrown to the winds by this weak-minded, incompetent ruler of Malwa. Mahmud Khalji I always held enquiries in open court and gave orders after the guilt had been established Mahmud II, while giving order to his men had not calculated that the administration was in the hands of those two persons and, therefore, they must have sufficient people to keep them informed of the happenings, and it is also quite likely that they had kept a close watch over the Sultan Thus the instructions of the Sultan were conveyed to them After they had ascertained the truth of what had been conveyed to them, they retired to their respective houses to prepare themselves for the eventualities that might befall them Muhafiz Khan informed the Sultan that they had gone to their houses to collect their retainers and raise *Shahzada* Sahib Khan to the throne, and suggested that he should immediately proceed to their houses and seize them, before they had collected their men According to the advice of Muhafiz Khan, Sultan Mahmud marched towards their houses.

Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan receiving the news of Sultan's approach, left the fort with a hundred horsemen and foot-soldiers by the Qadipur gate on the night of 24th *Rabi'* II A.H.[1] /21-7-1511 A D. Thus came the fall of the party that had destroyed Basant Rai *Wazir* and *Naqd-ul-Mulk*. The Sultan on

(Continued from pre-page)

But the narrative of Nizam-ud-Din is more correct, because Muhafiz Khan was not yet controlling the affairs which were in the hands of Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan He came to power after these two *amirs* fled from Mandu

[1] *T A* III, p 379, (Tr), III, p 579, *Firishta*, II, p 520. Firishta holds that Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan rebelled after the ascendancy of Muhafiz Khan and raising of Sahib Khan to the throne by Muhafiz Khan Firishta obviously is wrong, because Muhafiz Khan came into prominence after their fall, *Briggs*, IV, p 250 Briggs, contrary to the statements of both Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, mentions that Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal rebelled after the ascendancy of Medini Rai on whose instigation the Sultan ordered the execution of these two *amirs* Briggs' mistake is also obvious, because Medini Rai comes into picture later, when Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal were already with Hoshang bin Shihabuddin

the next day, appointed Muhafiz Khan as *Wazir* and conferred on him the title of *Khwaja-i-Jahan*, he also conferred the titles of *Majlis-i-Karim* on Afzal Khan and of *Dastur Khan* on Jawash Khan. Mahmud then ordered Afzal Khan and Dastur Khan to proceed against the fugitives, Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan. This, however, was not the end of the trouble Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan had gone to Sarabah near the Narbada, from where they had sent Nusrat Khan son of Iqbal Khan, in advance towards Asir, to bring Sultan Shihabuddin [1] Sultan Shihabuddin was over-joyed with the message of Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal and immediately on the next day started from the region of Bijagarh and Kharkun then known as Mumtaz However, because of over-exertion and heat he fell ill and died on 3rd of *Jumada* I 917 A.H./29-7-1511 A D.

The death of Shihabuddin would have removed one of the rivals, but Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan were determined to come back to power, they had not yet lost all hope Nusrat Khan brought the corpse with mourning to Sarabah from where the dead body was sent to Shadiabad Sultan Mahmud Shah also observed the mournings on the death of his elder brother whose body was consigned to the grave with all honour Mahmud Shah then despatched Nizam Khan to reinforce Dastur Khan, who had been sent earlier in pursuit of Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan These *amirs* in the meantime had raised the son of Shihabuddin as Sultan and had given him the title of Sultan Hoshang II Nizam Khan after joining Dastur Khan attacked Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan who had with them the pretender Hoshang II and completely defeated them Hoshang along with his supporters fled and took shelter in the hills of *Bahar Baba Haji*.[2]

Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan were convinced by then that they were playing a losing game and thought of regaining the favour of Sultan Mahmud by exposing Muhafiz Khan According to this decision they sent a petition to the Sultan The text

[1] *T.A.* III, p 379, *Firishta*, II, p 520 Firishta mentions that Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan personally went to Asir where they held the *Chatra* over the head of Shihabuddin and on his death they raised an adopted son of Shihabuddin with the title of Hoshang. However Nizam-ud-Din's account seems to be more consistent and balanced.

[2] *T.A* III, p. 380, *Firishta*, II, p. 520 Firishta does not mention the name of the place but simply says that they fled to the hills.

of the petition as given by Nizam-ud-Din runs as follows, "Nothing has ever been done by these old hereditary slaves except rendering loyal service to your Majesty, and Muhafiz Khan, owing to his envy and ill-will, having spoken interested and malicious words, has turned your noble heart against your old servants. They hope that the truth about the disloyalty and wickedness of Muhafiz Khan and of his acts will be revealed to your just mind. They also believe that some of your other loyal servants will, in their disinterestedness, attest in private to the truth of these words "[1]

The petition marks the end of the first group of nobles. But it led to fresh trouble Sultan Mahmud enquired from his servants about the truth of the contents of this petition, and some of them not only confirmed the statement but even informed the Sultan that Muhafiz Khan's chief motive in making the insinuation against these nobles was not only to get the *wizarat*, but also to raise to the throne Sahib Khan, and himself act as the sole dictator of the realm[2] Sultan Mahmud again displayed lack of tact in handling the situation. Instead of keeping his intentions secret, he gave orders for the arrest of Muhafiz Khan when he should come to the court. In issuing the order Mahmud completely overlooked that Muhafiz Khan was already the *wazir* and as such he was controlling affairs and would certainly get knowledge of his orders before he appeared in the court and, therefore, would be well-prepared for it. The result of such a hasty action was that Muhafiz Khan heard of it and next day he came fully prepared with his retainers Sultan Mahmud summoned him to his private chamber, and there Muhafiz Khan gave such harsh replies that Mahmud lost his patience and came out of the chamber with his personal body guards, and retired to his palace[3]

EXPULSION OF MAHMUD AND ACCESSION OF SAHIB KHAN

On Mahmud's retirement to his palace Muhafiz Khan collected his men and bringing out *Shahzada* Sahib Khan from the prison,

[1] *TA* III (Tr), pp 581-82.

[2] *Ibid*, III, p 381.

[3] *TA* III, p 381, gives 18th *Jumada* I /13-8-1511 A D as the date of the incident, *Firishta*, II, p 519 Firishta gives a slightly different version. According to him Mahmud lost his temper and struck Muhafiz Khan with his sword. Muhafiz Khan left the court with streaks of blood coming out from his head and collected his men and then marched towards the court.

raised him as the leader of the uprising. With a royal prince as leader Muhafiz expected to have a bigger following Muhafiz Khan then besieged the palace of Mahmud Mahmud found himself in great difficulty, his forces were nothing as compared to those of Muhafiz Khan and *Shahzada* Sahib Khan However, before Muhafiz Khan could seize his person, Mahmud managed to escape from the fort at midnight and marched towards Ujjain [1] When Mahmud escaped from the fort, Muhafiz Khan raised *Shahzada* Sahib Khan to the throne and gave him the title of Sultan Muhammad [2]

Thus on the 19th *Jumada* I, Malwa had two Sultans, Sultan Mahmud who was moving towards Ujjain and Sultan Muhammad who was occupying Shadiabad, the capital. With two brothers claiming the crown of Malwa, it must have created a lot of confusion among the *amirs* as to whom to recognise and whom to refuse allegiance. Their difficulty was all the greater because one was occupying the capital while the other had been in occupation for some time, with a better legal claim for the title as he had not only been nominated by the late king Nasir Shah, but his formal coronation had also taken place. In case they sided with the one and the other was victorious in the struggle, they would be doomed Under such circumstances only such *amirs* who had declared affiliation and mostly belonging to the centre participated

Sultan Mahmud's cause slightly improved by the arrival of Dastur Khan, Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan, but still his numerical strength was not adequate to attack the capital where, in the meantime, Sahib Khan (Sultan Muhammad) had taken fresh engagements and promises on oath from Sadr Khan and Afzal Khan and was preparing to attack Sultan Mahmud. On 25th of *Jumada*,[3] Sahib Khan marched out, leaving the capital in charge of Mu'addab Khan and set up his camp in Nalcha.

At Nalcha, Sahib Khan in agreement with Sadr Khan gave

1 *T A* III, p 382, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 212, says Mahmud went to Sarangpur

2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 174, *Zafar-ul-walih*, pp. 97 & 212, *Wright*, II, p 243; *Firishta*, II, p. 519 Firishta does not mention the regnal title of Sahib Khan, *T A* III, p 382. Nizam-ud-Din mentions his title as Mahmud

3 *T.A* III, p 382 has, 5th *Jumada*, which obviously is wrong because Sahib Khan had come to power in Shadiabad on the 18th *Jumada* I.

orders for the payment of one-third of the salary of the soldiers in advance from the treasury, so that they would be ready for the march to Ujjain Obviously *Shahzada* Sahib Khan took such a measure to secure the support of the army, because the distribution would convince the soldiers that he was in possession of the treasury of the State. Sultan Mahmud felt he had not the necessary strength to meet Sahib Khan and moved from Ujjain to Dipalpur where a number of *amirs* deserted him and left for Shadiabad Though Nizam-ud-Din says that the cause of this disaffection was that these *amirs* had their families in Mandu, but in reality, these *amirs* must have felt that Mahmud's was the lost cause Any way this incident clearly indicates the unreliable character of the Muslim *amirs* of Malwa, who were more selfish than loyal

The desertion of the *amirs* further weakened the position of Mahmud and, instead of facing Sahib Khan, he moved to Chanderi and sent a letter in advance of himself to Bihjat Khan, the governor of Chanderi, seeking his help As pointed out earlier Bihjat Khan of Chanderi belonged to that group of officers who preferred to remain neutral which is amply borne out by the reply, he gave to the Sultan [1] His reply that he was obedient to him who had control over Shadiabad rendered Mahmud absolutely helpless and he halted at Behishtpur At Behishtpur he held a counsel and decided to wait and watch the course of events, taking shelter in Ranthambhor, though a section of nobles were of the opinion that he should seek the help of Sikandar Lodi Sultan Mahmud was well-acquainted with the intentions of Sikandar Lodi and his reply that it was not proper for him to seek help and support of his equals was only a form of rejection of the opinion, because we find Mahmud later going to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat seeking help from him Thus Sultan Mahmud at Behishtpur, found himself a forsaken Sultan of Malwa Practically all the important Muslim

[1] *T A* III, p. 382,

این بنده مطیع آن کس است که دارالملک شادی‌آباد در تصرف اوست ـ

Firishta, II, p 520 According to Firishta, Bihjat Khan was afraid of Medini Rai, and therefore made excuses and saying that because of rainy season he would not be able to come

amirs had betrayed him on one occasion or another and it was very clear that they could not be trusted

MEDINI RAI AND RESTORATION OF MAHMUD

When forsaken by most of the *amirs*, Mahmud's hope was revived by the arrival of Rai Chand Purbia[1] better known in history by his title Medini Rai, who came from his *thana* and joined his camp Medini Rai must have realised that the trend of politics in Malwa was undergoing a change and that a few self-seeking *amirs* were trying to establish their authority in Malwa by raising a puppet Sultan and arousing communal feelings which had started with the murder of Basant Rai He must have noticed that the policy which had been shaped by Hoshang Shah and nurtured and developed by Mahmud Khalji I was undergoing a change by the ascendancy of a few worthless *amirs* and this was bound to ruin Malwa Whatever the motives of Medini Rai might have been, it is definite that his arrival at once changed the outlook of Mahmud's camp which otherwise looked dismal. Bihjat Khan of Chanderi was the first to recognise the altered position and sent his son Shirzah Khan to attend Sultan Mahmud[2]

Shahzada Sahib Khan also marched towards Chanderi and pitched his tents at Shahrai. Now it was the turn of the camp of Sahib Khan to be deserted. Afzal Khan who had been an associate of Muhafiz Khan *Khwaja-i-Jahan* from the beginning, now changed sides and with a little more than half of the army left his camp in the night and came to the camp of Sultan Mahmud. The act of Afzal Khan no doubt strengthened the position of Sultan Mahmud but it clearly revealed the independable character of the *amirs* *Shahzada* Sahib Khan and Muhafiz Khan now finding that they hardly had the strength to fight Mahmud, burnt their tents and hastily retreated to Nusratabad and reached there on the fourth day of the retreat. With the turn of tide Mahmud found himself in an advantageous position and marched towards Shadiabad. The party of Hoshang the pretender was also by now liquidated and he along with the few *amirs* who were still with him sought

1 *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 213 has, suspicion and doubt for his friends, having entered the mind of Mahmud, he joined Rai Chand Purbia, whom he appointed as his *Wazir* and honoured him with the title of Medini Rai

2 *T. A.* (Tr), III, p. 584 and fn 1.

pardon and surrendered themselves to Sultan Mahmud at Sirsiah. Sahib Khan in the meantime had managed to muster enough soldiers to oppose Mahmud In the battle that was fought between Mahmud and Sahib Khan, Medini Rai[1] and his soldiers displayed exceptional courage and completely routed Sahib Khan who fled and took shelter in the fort, and set up the defence of the fort in order.

Sultan Mahmud, however, before starting the siege of the capital tried peaceful means of settlement and offered to bestow on his brother any place that he selected for himself and also to allow him to carry away as much wealth as he could carry provided he agreed to evacuate the fort But Sahib Khan, who was determined not to take anything less than the crown, refused the offer The siege of the fort was then started, and the fort of Shadiabad was finally conquered on 16th of *Shawwal* 6th January, 1512. But *Shahzada* Sahib Khan and Muhafiz Khan taking a quantity of precious jewels, escaped from the fort by the gate of seven hundred steps and fled towards Baroda. Sultan Muzaffar II, who had ascended the throne just a few months earlier,[2] welcomed *Shahzada* Sahib Khan and for his residence allotted him quarters in Champaner Muhammadabad and fixed some stipend He also promised to mediate and settle the dispute between brothers by dividing Malwa into two parts. The departure of *Shahzada* Sahib Khan from Malwa left the country to Mahmud who now started consolidating his position. As his success was entirely due to the support and efforts of Medini Rai, he placed his reliance upon him and appointed him *Wazir*.

REAPPEARANCE OF SAHIB KHAN AND THE AFFAIRS OF CHANDERI

Sahib Khan and *Khwaja-i-Jahan* stayed in Gujarat during the rains but Sahib Khan lost his patience waiting in Gujarat He even complained to Sultan Muzaffar Shah that his interest was not progressing at all.[3] But he was soon involved in a nasty

[1] *T A* III, p 384; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 213, *Firishta*, II, p 531

[2] Muzaffar II ascended throne in *Ramazan* 917 A H. / Nov-Dec , 1511 A D *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 173; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 197, *T A* III, p 173, *Firishta*, II, p 405, *Commissariat*, p. 271 has, "Prince Khalil Khan in his 37th year ascended the throne of Gujarat on November 24, 1511 A D under the title Muzaffar II "

[3] *T. A* III, p. 174, *Firishta*, II, p 406.

affair with the Iranian ambassador[1] Yadgar Beg *Surkh Kulah* which even displeased his patron Muzaffar Shah and Sahib Khan left Gujarat without taking leave of the Sultan Sahib Khan, along with Muhafiz Khan *Khwaja-i-Jahan* returned to Malwa but instead of moving towards the capital he moved towards the Malwa-Khandesh border, obviously with the intention of collecting his supporters and also to enlist the support of the rulers of that region. Sahib Khan pitched his tents in the village of Lorgaon (Purkanu) which marked the boundary of Khandesh.[2] The village was within the jurisdiction of Khandwa[3] and Malik Lodha, the governor, did not want to displease Sultan Mahmud. He marched against Sahib Khan and drove him out of his jurisdiction Sahib Khan, thus driven out, fled to Gawil in Berar The ruler of Gawil who was on friendly terms with Sultan Mahmud and was not willing to pick an unnecessary quarrel with him, refused to give Sahib Khan any assistance, but granted him an asylum and arranged for his personal expenses.

The presence of Sahib Khan in the vicinity of Malwa, gave fresh opportunity to some of the dissatisfied *amirs* who had joined Mahmud with the hope of getting power and privileges The elevation of Medini Rai not only shattered their hopes, but

[1] The affair between Sahib Khan and Yadgar Beg, has been variously recorded According to Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, a quarrel took place between the servants of the two, and ended in a fight and looting of the house of Yadgar Beg Vide, *T A* III, pp 175, 385, *Firishta*, II, p. 406 Sikandar assigns the cause of the quarrel to some misunderstanding in the business transactions between the *Shahzada* and the Iranian ambassador whom Sikandar calls Mirza Ibrahim The house of the Iranian ambassador was plundered because on one night, he forcibly detained *Shahzada* Sahib Khan in the *Serai* where he was staying and where one night, the *Shahzada* had gone to pay a visit to one of his old servants *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp. 175-76 Nizam-ud-Din's statement that a report spread among the Gujarati soldiers that the Turkmans had seized Sahib Khan, and the latter being ashamed at such report, left without taking leave of Sultan Mazaffar, clearly suggests that there was some cause of shame Haji-ud-Dabir, however, is more frank in his narrative According to him, the cause of the quarrel was due to the Iranian's unnatural appreciation of Sahib Khan's beauty and the cause of his being ashamed was wide publicity to it *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 98; *Commissariat*, p 287, quotes from the *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque*, IV, p 84, which corroborates the statement of Haji-ud-Dabir.

[2] *T. A* III, p. 385, (Tr) III, p. 586 fn 3.

[3] *T.A* III, p 385 Kanduha of the text obviously stands for Khandwa which was on the borders of Malwa and Khandesh

the efficiency that was introduced into the administration, convinced them of the futility of their court intrigues. It was soon discovered by Medini Rai that Afzal Khan and Iqbal Khan had started secret negotiations with Sahib Khan at Gawil.[1] Medini Rai immediately reported the matter to the Sultan who gave orders that when they appear in the court they should be slain According to the orders Afzal Khan and Iqbal Khan were slain when they went to the court. Nizam-ud-Din charges Medini Rai with the motives of personal aggrandisement in making false allegation against these two nobles But as pointed out earlier, these *amirs* were deft in changing sides and displayed utter lack of integrity There is hardly anything to be said in their defence. It may also be pointed out that for the first time the instructions of the Sultan did not leak out which, we can safely conclude, was an outcome of Medini Rai's efficient management. The death of Afzal Khan and Iqbal Khan alarmed quite a number of the nobles The cause of their alarm was not so much the ascendancy of Medini Rai on grounds of religion, but because they were now convinced that the administration was in stronger hands and that they would not be able to advance their own interests at the cost of the general good of the people of Malwa.[2]

REBELLION OF SIKANDAR KHAN

Sikandar Khan, the governor of Satwas, left the capital without permission, and raising the standard of rebellion occupied territory extending from Khandwah to Shahabad. He drove out the revenue officers of the Khalsa lands On 5th *Jumada* II 918 A H./18-8-1512 A.D , Sultan Mahmud moved out of Shadiabad to suppress this rebellion[3] From Nalcha he summoned

[1] *T A* III, p 386, (Tr) p 587 Nizam-ud-Din says, "Medini Rai wanted to become all-powerful, and wanted to remove the *amirs* of Ghiyath Shah and Nasir Shah out of the way, and in pursuance of this wicked purpose he began to speak ill of the *amirs*, and in private he slandered everyone, till one day he submitted (to the Sultan), that Afzal Khan and Iqbal Khan had sent letters to *Shahzada* Sahib Khan, and wanted to re-awaken the disturbances which had been put to sleep."

[2] The statement of Nizam-ud-Din that "seeing this audacity and violence of Medini Rai, Sikandar Khan of Satwas and Fath Jang Khan Sherwani fled and went to their *jagirs*" is to be read with caution It only means that they were afraid of the strength which the government had now acquired with Medini Rai as *wazir*

[3] *T A*. III, p 386 That the Gonds joined Sikandar Khan indicates that the territories occupied by him were in the direction of Gondwana

Bihjat Khan of Chanderi, but the latter made excuses on grounds of the approaching rainy season Mahmud was not willing to take action against Bihjat Khan and therefore, ordered Mansur Khan[1] to proceed against Sikandar Khan. But Mansur Khan on reaching the border of the territories occupied by Sikandar Khan, received information that the Gonds had also joined Sikandar Khan, and therefore became hesitant to attack him. He asked for reinforcement from the Sultan Medini Rai got scent of the intentions of Mansur Khan and warned him of the dire consequences of his failure. Though reinforcements were sent under Sanjar Khan, Mansur Khan was afraid[2] of Medini Rai and joined Sikandar Khan Thus we find that the Muslim *amirs* again betrayed the Sultan who had, therefore, to depend more on Medini Rai and his Rajput soldiers. Mahmud then moved to Dhar and from there proceeded to Ujjain, but from Dipalpur he deputed Medini Rai with a large force and fifty elephants to put down the rebellion of Sikandar Khan. Medini Rai acted quickly He reached Satwas and started devastating the country of Sikandar Khan with the result that the latter was reduced to great difficulties and, finding that his resistance would be of no avail against this determined attack, started negotiations for peace He came to Medini Rai through the intervention of Habib Khan. Medini Rai not only accepted his submission but also took him to Ujjain and obtained pardon for his actions from the Sultan. Sultan Mahmud restored Sikandar Khan to his former position and *jagir* Thus we find that the charge against Medini Rai that he wanted to destroy old *amirs* is wrong It was on Medini Rai's recommendation that Sikandar Khan was restored to his former position. Had Medini Rai's intentions been different he could have easily destroyed Sikandar Khan.

[1] Mansur Khan was the *Muqta* of Bhilsa.

[2] *T. A* III, p. 387, *Firishta*, II, p. 521. Cause of Mansur Khan's joining was that he felt exposed for certain dealings and not a refusal of reinforcements, because from the same source we learn that reinforcements were sent under Sanjar Khan who also joined Sikandar Khan. According to Nizam-ud-Din, Mansur Khan and Sanjar Khan joined Bihjat Khan, but it seems to be a mistake because we find Mansur Khan later in Bhilsa and causing trouble to Mahmud while he was moving to Chanderi. Thus, in all probability, he had joined Sikandar Khan and when the latter was pardoned and reinstated, Mansur Khan was also pardoned and reinstated.

THE AFFAIRS OF CHANDERI

Though Mahmud had overlooked the conduct of Bihjat Khan but he was determined to chastise him After Medini Rai had succeeded in suppressing the rebellion of Sikandar Khan, Mahmud moved from Ujjain to Agar where he received information of an uprising in the capital which had been successfully suppressed by the *daroga* of the capital The Sultan conveyed his appreciation for the work of the *daroga* and himself moved to the hill of Bahar Baba Haji in the direction of Chanderi Instead of immediately attacking Bihjat Khan, Mahmud thought of conciliating him and for that purpose he sent a letter through Bhairodas promising favours to Bihjat Khan. But Bihjat Khan in the meantime had already sent his men to bring Sahib Khan from Gawil and had also sent a letter to Sultan Sikandar Lodi complaining against Mahmud's favour to the Rajputs, and asking military help from him, in return of issuing the coins in the name of Sikandar Lodi and also reading the *khutba* in his name in Chanderi.

Bhairodas returned and informed the Sultan about these proceedings of Bihjat Khan whereupon Mahmud decided to attack Chanderi immediately, and despatched Mukhtas Khan with a large army in advance towards Chanderi Sultan Mahmud's march towards Chanderi, however, was checked by the information that Sultan Muzaffar II had marched into Malwa and was moving at leisure in the vicinity of Dhar and Nalcha, and his army was causing great distress to the people.[1] Mahmud therefore remained in his tents in the hills of Bahar Baba Haji as he could not immediately decide as to the direction in which he should proceed. But before he could decide, the relieving news came of Muzaffar's return to Gujarat. Mahmud, however, was not destined to have a peaceful time Before he could start for Chanderi, news came that Sikandar Khan had again revolted and had forcefully occupied a number of *Khalsa* villages. Mahmud sent orders to Malik Lodha the governor of Khandwah to proceed against Sikandar Khan Malik Lodha, after some initial success, was assassinated and Sikandar Khan's rebellion remained unsubdued

Sultan Mahmud kept the rebellion of Sikandar Khan in abeyance, and gave top priority to the Chanderi affair. Mahmud

[1] *T A* III, pp 388-89, *Mir'at-Sikandari*, p 179, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 100

was in a hurry to attack Bihjat Khan because on the Chanderi front forces were gathering and Mahmud wanted to crush Bihjat Khan before the forces had actually collected Mahmud, therefore, moved to Sajanpur village and started collecting troops But before Mahmud could collect enough troops, a reinforcement from Sultan Sikandar Lodi under Said Khan Lodi and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* arrived and pitched its tents at a distance of five *karoh* from Chanderi where Sahib Khan from Gawil had already arrived and whom Bihjat Khan had accepted as Sultan The combination of these forces unnerved Sultan Mahmud, and he started thinking of withdrawing He summoned his *amirs* and took from them oaths of loyalty and support to him But in spite of their oaths Sadr Khan and Mukhtas Khan deserted the camp and left for Chanderi Mahmud sent a body of men in pursuit and himself encamped at Sironj But when Mahmud was passing through Bhilsa on 1st of *Safar* 919 A H. / 8-4-1513 A D, Mansur Khan, the *muqti* of Bhilsa, plundered the rear of his camp and the Sultan losing his patience, gave orders for the plunder and pillage of the town which was carried out mercilessly by his men

Sahib Khan, finding that Mahmud was hesitant in attacking Chanderi, took the initiative and deputed Malik Mahmud to attack Sarangpur But Malik Mahmud failed in his attempt on Sarangpur and he was not only defeated by Jhujar Khan, the governor of Sarangpur but was so hotly pursued that Malik Mahmud retreated to Chanderi without a single halt The delay in actual engagement with Sultan Mahmud now created suspicion in the minds of Said Khan Lodi and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* who now demanded fulfilment of the terms of agreement from Bihjat Khan But failing to get a proper reply, they returned towards Dehli and moved from the village of Shahrai where they had pitched their tents to a place fourteen *karoh* further back. When Sikandar Lodi was informed of these happenings and the attitude of Bihjat Khan he ordered Said Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* to return within the territories of the Dehli kingdom [1] According to Firishta, the real cause of Sultan

[1] *First Afghan Empire in India*, pp 146, 147. A.B. Pandey however maintains that "The presence of these troops impressed Sultan Mahmud so much that he agreed to assign Raisen, Bhilsa and Dhamoni to Prince Muhammad and to offer a free pardon to his confederates This reconciliation enabled Bihjat

(*Continued on next page*)

Sikandra Lodi's withdrawal of his forces was that forty thousand Rajputs had assembled under Sultan Mahmud which was too great a force against his men, and he made Bihjat Khan's evasive replies only a pretext because the *khutba* was being read in Sikandar Lodi's name in Chanderi.[1]

The withdrawal of the Dehli forces considerably weakened the position of Bihjat Khan and *Shahzada* Sahib Khan. *Shahzada* Sahib Khan was tired of waiting at Chanderi and finding that the possibilities of attacking Mahmud and settling the issue were remote, he sent *Khwaja-i-Jahan* Muhafiz Khan[2] with a large force to attack Shadiabad and capture the capital. Sultan Mahmud on receiving the news immediately deputed Habib Khan, *Fakhr-ul-Mulk* and Hem Karan with many Rajput *amirs* to proceed against Muhafiz Khan. They overtook Muhafiz Khan at Nalcha on 16th *Rabi'* II/21-6-1513 A D and in the battle Muhafiz Khan was killed The head of Muhafiz was carried by them The death of Muhafiz removed the chief supporter of Sahib Khan who could not trust others, and, in grief, he refused to meet other *khans* in his camp Sahib Khan had placed his confidence in Muhafiz Khan and was suspicious of Bihjat Khan, with the result that during this period when Sahib Khan was despondent, Bihjat Khan also felt that gradually Mahmud was becoming strong whereas his side was getting weaker and, therefore, thought of negotiating for a compromise and seeking pardon for his offences Sahib Khan also was convinced that he had practically no chance against Mahmud and, therefore, agreed to the proposition of Bihjat

(Continued from pre-page)

Khan to go back on his word and to repudiate the compact with Sultan Sikandar Lodi Sikandar had to withdraw his troops temporarily but when Buhjat Khan and Muhammad quarrelled among themselves and the latter fled to the camp of Sikandar he sent Shaikh Jamal, Saeed Khan Lodi, Khizr Khan and Rai Ugrasen Kachhwaha who occupied the territory and assumed powers of government on behalf of Muhammad Bihjat had no alternative but to submit to this arrangement Thus the authority of the Sultan was firmly established over Chanderi " The narrative of Nizam-ud-Din in Dehli Sultanate section is confusing which had formed the basis of Dr Pandey's conclusion Firishta is more clear in the Malwa section, vide *Firishta*, II, p 522, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 213

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 522.

[2] *TA* III, p 391, has Khwajah Jahan and Muhafiz Khan But *Khwajah Jahan* was the title of Muhafiz Khan, *Firishta*, II, p 523 does not mention Hem Karan.

Khan. Shaikh Aulia was sent to Sultan's camp to negotiate for pardon for the offences of these *amirs*, and for granting some place to *Shahzada* Sahib Khan for his maintenance. Sultan Mahmud on his part had always been ready to accommodate Sahib Khan who on a previous occasion had spurned the offer of a compromise Now that the matter was opened from the side of Sahib Khan, he immediately accepted it Considering it an act of supernatural mercy, Mahmud granted the fort of Raisen and villages of Bhilsa and Dhamoni to Sahib Khan and for his immediate expenses sent ten lakh *tankas* and twelve elephants[1] He also sent a *farman* promising favour to Bihjat Khan and his other associates But Sahib Khan was not destined to enjoy a peaceful life Bihjat Khan whose intentions were not above suspicion from the very beginning, now kept the cash with himself, but sent the *farman* to Sahib Khan for occupying Raisen, Bhilsa and Dhamoni. A rumour was also circulated that Bihjat Khan intended to seize the *Shahzada* on the morning of *Id-ul-fitr* and for that purpose he had made all necessary preparations Sahib Khan lost his courage and considering that he had been betrayed by all his supporters, fled from Malwa on the night of 9th *Ramazan*/8-11-1513 A D and went to the army of Sikandar Lodi on the other side of the border of Malwa

From the account of Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta about the reign of Sikandar Lodi, it appears that Sahib Khan again returned to Chanderi accompanied by the Dehli contingent under Said Khan Lodi, Khizr Khan, Ugrasen and Shaikh Jamal and occupied Chanderi, where Sahib Khan was made a Sultan in name only. The ascendancy of Dehli group disappointed Bihjat Khan who came to the camp of the Sultan Sultan Mahmud then with Medini Rai attacked and defeating the Dehli forces, drove them out and occupied Chanderi The victory gained by Mahmud was due to the unusual valour of Medini Rai and his men.[2] Mahmud entered Chanderi on 19th *Shawwal* 920 A.H. /7-12-1514 A D and granted a general pardon and to further satisfy them distributed robes and rewards After making necessary arrangements and being satisfied with the settlement of Chanderi, Mahmud returned to Shadiabad

[1] *T A* III, p. 392; *Firishta*, II, p 523
[2] *T. A* III, p 393, *Zafar-ul-walih* p. 213.

ASCENDANCY OF MEDINI RAI

The success of Sultan Mahmud was due to the support of Medini Rai and the bravery and loyalty of his men, he, therefore, started relying more and more upon Medini Rai with the result that Medini Rai became very powerful. The behaviour of the Muslim *amirs* from the time of his accession had convinced the Sultan of their unreliable nature and he became suspicious about them and started punishing them [1] Sultan Mahmud dismissed quite a large number of government officials and as the vacancies thus created were mostly filled in by the adherents of Medini Rai, it became a cause of wailing and condemnation for the Muslim historians [2] Nizam-ud-Din goes even to the length of saying, that so many *amirs*, *sardars* and public servants left Shadiabad that the fort which was once the home of learning and contained men of wisdom and *Shaikhs*, became a residence for the *kafirs*.[3]

The political condition of Malwa had convinced Medini Rai that to exercise authority one must have a large number of supporters and also that the Sultan should be well-guarded from the news-mongers as well as from the influence of those who were against his authority. With this end in view, Medini Rai started a policy of replacing the old officers by his own men who being his creatures remained loyal to him, and at the same time, he started surrounding the Sultan with his own

[1] *T. A.* III, p 393. According to Nizam-ud-Din the suspicion was due to the wicked instigation of Medini Rai, but we have already noted the treachery of the *amirs* before the ascendancy of Medini Rai Besides, the fall of the Muslim *amirs* was more due to their own division and quarrel than because of Medini Rai The case of Sikandar Khan clearly indicates that Medini Rai was not in favour of complete removal of the Muslim *amirs*

[2] *T A* III, p 393 According to Nizam-ud-Din, "Mahmud placed the mark of dismissal in the forehead of the old officers who had formed a faithful band, and had been entrusted for years, under the governments of Ghiyath Shah and Nasir Shah, with all matters of revenue, and appointed the helpers and confederates of Medini Rai in their places" Nizam-ud-Din speaks of Ghiyath Shahi and Nasir Shahi officers of the revenue department, but a large number of such Ghiyath Shahi officers had been removed by Nasir Shah and Nasir Shahi officers were removed by Mukhtas Khan and Iqbal Khan The cases of Basant Rai and *Naqdul Mulk* are obvious illustrations Muhafiz Khan, in turn, had also removed some It had become almost a common practice that whoever came in power wanted to keep as many of his own men in office as was possible

[3] *T A* III, p. 393.

men. His aim was that men round the Sultan should be such as would inform him of everything, and therefore, he gave the posts of '*darban*' and '*pilban*' to his adherents 'Ali Khan, one of the old *amirs* and governor of the city of Shadiabad, did not like this altered position and taking advantage of the Sultan's absence along with his Rajput servants, took possession of the fort. When the Sultan returned the fort was attacked and 'Ali Khan was forced to evacuate but he was pursued, seized and executed [1] This act of rashness on the part of 'Ali Khan in which a large number of citizens were also involved alienated the feelings of the Sultan and made Medini Rai more alert. The result of the act of 'Ali Khan was that the Sultan was left with only about two hundred Muslims as his personal attendants. By this process the domination of these Rajputs, who had mostly come from the east and were called the *Purabiya*, was complete Their attitude towards conventional Hindu mode of life was different, inasmuch as that they took Muslim women into their household [2] In Malwa from the time of Ghiyath Shah it had become a common practice for the nobles and the rich to maintain big seraglios and dancing troups (*akharas*) of their own Now that the Rajputs came not as competitors but as supplanters and Muslim nobles found themselves no longer capable of maintaining these means of pleasure, they became jealous of the Rajputs But instead of raising their voice to demand their previous position, they gave a religious colouring to the entire issue Weak and degraded as they were, they expected that by making it a religious issue, they would secure help from neighbouring Muslim rulers who were watching over Malwa like vultures.

Sultan Mahmud however began to feel the presence of these Rajputs in the capital, who soon became arrogant and at times even neglected to show proper respect to the Sultan They even started stretching their hands towards the *harem* of the Sultan [3] Such behaviour of the Rajput nobles so much annoyed Sultan Mahmud that he decided to get rid of Medini Rai and his men. According to this decision, one day he sent a vessel filled with *pan* (betel) made into *biras* which was a

[1] *Firishta*, II, pp 523-24, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 214 Haji-ud-Dabir says, 'Ali Khan was killed in the battle

[2] *T A* III, p 393, *Firishta*, II, p 523

[3] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 214

symbol of farewell also, through Araish Khan along with a message that he had permission to leave the service and also to leave the kingdom [1] The Rajputs when they heard of this message of the Sultan, said, "We forty thousand horsemen have upto this day performed loyal and devoted service, and have never committed any fault and have done praiseworthy service We do not know what fault has been committed by us." Medini Rai sent a polite reply to the Sultan and thus the messenger came a number of times, but Medini Rai behaved with extreme politeness. The politeness and humility displayed by Medini Rai annoyed the Rajputs who were haughty They were so much displeased with Medini Rai that they decided to remove Sultan Mahmud and raise the son of Medini Rai to the throne [2] When Medini Rai came to know of it he immediately summoned the Rajputs and frankly told them of their foolish decision and reminded them that though for the present they were enjoying all the power and the administration was in their hands, but if in their rashness they caused some injury to the Sultan, Muzaffar Shah Gujarati would immediately come and they would lose everything He reminded them that it was in their interest that they should respect and protect Sultan Mahmud during whose reign they were enjoying both peace and position Medini Rai then hurriedly rode to the palace of the Sultan and politely submitted an oath on his religion that if any of his men had crossed the limits he would gladly inflict capital punishment on the miscreant. The Sultan was pacified. After some time he again became conscious that he was merely a puppet sovereign But Medini Rai and his Rajputs again came and represented to the Sultan that, "It is not concealed from your world-adoring wisdom, that from us who are your slaves, nothing but loyalty and service has been shown. By the grace of God we slew with great torment Muhafiz Khan, who was a great enemy of the Sultan Although man is steeped from head to foot with sins and offences, still no offence has been committed by us, which might throw dust over, and cause pain to Your Majesty's gracious mind; and even supposing that owing to human frailty a harsh deed should have been perpetrated by us, we hope that, with your innate generosity and natural inclination to forgive,

1 *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 214, *TA* III, p 394
2 *TA* III, p 394; *Firishta*, II, p 524, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 214

you will grant us pardon for it, and after this, nothing will be done by us that would be contrary to your wishes and pleasure "[1]

Sultan Mahmud was not willing to quarrel with the Rajputs as he was conscious of their power and his own weakness But he did not want his authority to be disregarded. He, therefore, imposed three conditions on the Rajputs, first the reinstatement of old Mussalman officers, secondly, non-interference of Medini Rai's men in state affairs and thirdly, they were not to keep Muslim women in their households Medini Rai who was very wise and was loyal to Sultan Mahmud agreed to abide by the command of the Sultan But Salibahan who was assistant to Medini Rai continued to behave as in the past and did not comply with the orders of the Sultan [2]

ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE MEDINI RAI

Finding that in spite of his orders matters did not alter, Sultan Mahmud decided to remove Medini Rai and Salibahan who were the leaders of the *Purabiya* Rajputs. However, such an action of the Sultan not only reflects his incompetence but also his utter lack of far-sightedness. His old machinery had ceased to function, he had been betrayed by all the Muslim *amirs* by turn, and it was because of the loyal support of Medini Rai that he was ruling If Medini Rai was exercising undue authority it was only because of his own incompetence, but to think of the assassination of such a loyal and competent servant was certainly inviting his own doom And from this time we may mark the beginning of the downfall of the House of the Khaljis as well as that of the kingdom of Malwa

Sultan Mahmud in consultation with some of his favourite adherents decided that Medini Rai and Salibahan should be slain when they return with him from hunting and get permission to return to their respective houses. According to the scheme some men, who were chosen for the purpose, were concealed and the Sultan along with Medini Rai and Salibahan went for hunting. After returning from hunting, Sultan Mahmud went to his private chamber accompanied by Medini Rai and Salibahan from where he gave them permission to retire. According to the pre-arranged plan they were attacked by the persons

[1] *TA* III (Tr), p 598.
[2] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 214.

deputed by the Sultan. Salibahan was killed[1] on the spot but Medini Rai escaped in a wounded condition and reached his house.

OPEN HOSTILITY OF THE RAJPUTS

When Medini Rai was carried home in a wounded state, the Rajputs got infuriated and under the leadership of Medini Rai's son they attacked the Royal palace, but in spite of the odds being against Sultan Mahmud, he bravely defended his position and in the fight the Rajputs were defeated and Medini Rai's son was killed [2] The Rajputs then collected at the residence of Medini Rai carrying the dead body of *Rai Rayan* the son of Medini Rai with them Though Medini Rai was wounded and his son was killed, still he reprimanded the Rajputs for their action. He told them, "Mahmud Shah is my benefactor, if his men wounded me by his order, what business is it of yours?"[3] He also scolded them that in spite of his repeated warnings against meddling with Mahmud Shah they had attacked the Sultan with the result that it cost him the life of his son; now they should depart and leave him to his own fate He also reminded them of the danger from Gujarat Thus we find that Medini Rai even after wrong had been done to him, remained loyal to the Sultan He sent a petition to the Sultan saying, "As during my whole life I have never done anything but wish for your welfare, and act faithfully to my salt, I have carried my life in safety from the wounds If in reality, the affairs of the kingdom can be better regulated by my being put to death, I have no objection even to that."[4] Medini Rai also assured the Sultan not to be suspicious of him because of the son, who had only suffered the consequence of his own deeds

Sultan Mahmud felt that now that Medini Rai has escaped death and the Rajputs, though infuriated, had been kept in control by him, it was best to pacify Medini Rai He also felt convinced that Medini Rai was loyal to him. Taking all these

[1] *TA* III, p 395, *Firishta*, II, p 524 *Zafar-ul-walih*, pp. 214, 215
Haji-ud-Dabir does not say that Salibahan was killed on the spot According to him, Medini Rai was wounded with arrow but did not lose his life In wounded condition he was taken to his house and same was the case with Salibahan his *wazir*

[2] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 215

[3] *TA* III, p 396, (Tr), p 600 *Firishta*, II, p 525

[4] *TA* (Tr), p 600

things into consideration, he decided to heal up the injured feelings of Medini Rai by bestowing favours on him. Thus when Medini Rai asked the favour of Sultan's permission to bring with him five hundred armed Rajputs for his personal consolation, Sultan granted his request[1] But when Medini Rai started coming and performing his duties and paying his attendance upon the Sultan always guarded by five hundred armed Rajputs, Sultan Mahmud became apprehensive of Medini Rai and began to suspect that some day Medini Rai would definitely take revenge and, therefore, he always talked with Medini Rai tactfully and with politeness.[2] The incubus however began to weigh heavily in the mind of Sultan Mahmud. He gradually became afraid of Medini Rai, and now that the latter was always accompanied by a personal guard of five hundred armed men, the Sultan was conscious of the futility of another attempt on the life of Medini Rai. He, therefore, decided to seek the help of Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarat for ousting Medini Rai. However, it may be pointed out here that whatever doubts existed in the mind of Mahmud Khalji, were his own creations Medini Rai remained loyal to Mahmud and as a statesman he never wanted that Malwa should be exposed to Gujarat. From an account of *Haji-ud-dabir* we find that even after the departure of Mahmud from Shadiabad towards the court of Muzaffar of Gujarat, Medini Rai did not neglect the state business, or show any disregard to the Royal Harem. Every day, on reaching the *Durbar*, he used to send his regards to the ladies of the Royal Harem, and enquired from them their needs and requirements, and whatever they got during the presence of Mahmud Khalji was continued during his absence without the slightest change[3] He even requested the ladies of the Harem to write to Mahmud to return to Malwa and to consider him as the same old loyal servant.[4]

ATTITUDE OF SUTAN MUZAFFAR SHAH II TOWARDS MALWA

The attitude of Muzaffar Shah II towards Malwa is clear from the beginning of his reign That he wanted to establish Gujarat's hegemony over Malwa is clearly reflected in the way he treated Prince Sahib Khan. Though Sahib Khan was a rebel against the legal sovereign of Malwa, he not only offered him asylum

[1] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 216
[2] *Ibid*
[3] *Ibid*, p. 109
[4] *Ibid.*, p 110

but promised to mediate on his behalf and divide the kingdom[1] between the two brothers, Sahib Khan and Mahmud. He had decided to act as a mediator not by negotiations but by use of force and for that purpose he had given orders to the *thanadar* of Dohad to strengthen himself and also to find out from the people of Malwa on the other side of his border their likes and dislikes[2] He had also ordered the *Bakhshi* of the kingdom of Gujarat to inform the soldiers to get ready for a march into Malwa[3] Muzaffar II with all these preparations would have certainly marched into Malwa after the rainy season was over, just when Malwa was suffering from disaffection, dissension and treachery But the sudden departure of Sahib Khan from Gujarat removed the *casus belli* and Muzaffar had to defer his plans

Muzaffar Shah II however was determined to establish his authority over Malwa[4] and he got his opportunity in 919 A H/A D 1513-14 when Mahmud was engaged in Chanderi and facing the coalition of Bihjat Khan, Sikandar Lodi and Sahib Khan The argument that Muzaffar Shah wanted to destroy the ascendancy of the *Kafirs* (Rajputs) is unfounded, because the Rajputs' ascendancy was not in existence then. Medini Rai was only assisting Mahmud to establish his authority. The real motive of Muzaffar Shah is also reflected by the precautions taken by him in this march. On reaching Dohad, he had ordered for the construction of a fort. Further, when he halted in the difficult region of Deola for three days, he appointed Safdar Khan as *thanadar* of the place so that no trouble may be caused in the route[5] The apprehension of trouble arose because this

[1] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 218, *Firishta*, II, p. 406, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 175
[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 175, *T A* III, p. 176. [3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 175
[4] *T A* III, p 175. Nizam-ud-Din clearly says·

چون تسخیر مالوه بیس نهاد سلطان مظفر نود، عذر او را پذیرفت، دگو دهره رفت ـ

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, p 175 Sikandar, however, says:

ولایت مالوه را بالمناصفه تقسیم نموده، قسمی به سنما و قسمی بسلطان محمود ناصرالدین ارزانی داده ـ

[5] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 179, *T.A* III, p 176 Nizam-ud-Din says that he ordered Qaisar Khan to take possession of *Mauza* Deola which was in the possession of the men of Mahmud Khalji

region of Deola belonged to Malwa. The absence of Sultan Mahmud gave him a free hand and he moved towards Dharagarh He sent *Qawam-ul-Mulk* and *Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk* in advance of him to assure the people that no harm would be done to them. On reaching Dhar Sultan Muzaffar visited the '*Ahu Khana*' of Dhar, and paid his homage at the tombs of 'Abdullah Shah Changal and Kamal-ud-din Malwi At Dhar he had given leave to *Nizam-ul-Mulk* so that he might hunt in the neighbourhood of Dilawara *Nizam-ul-Mulk* reached Nalcha where a skirmish with the *Purbiya* Rajputs took place in which a number of them were killed. The attack of the Rajputs took the Sultan unaware and he reprimanded *Nizam-ul-Mulk* for his actions, and clearly said that his intention was only to see the country and return.[1] After this incident he hurriedly returned to Gujarat.

Muzaffar announced that his aim in visiting Malwa on this occasion, was only to drive out Medini Rai and other *kafirs* and restore peace between the two brothers and it was not his intention to take away the kingdom of Malwa from Sultan Mahmud.[2] However, this pious pronouncement of Muzaffar Shah suffered from a certain inconsistency Firstly, Medini Rai and his *Purbiya* Rajputs were not yet enjoying an enviable position. Secondly, if his intentions were not to use coercion, where was the need of so much military preparation Thirdly, there could be no justification for his entrance into the territory of another king particularly when the king was absent and he was not coming as a guest. That he had a big army is clear from the fact that after leaving his army behind he could visit Dhar with a force of twelve thousand besides one hundred and fifty elephants If his visit to Dhar was simply a pleasure trip, why did he take this force with him Thus taking all the possible evidences into consideration, the real motive of Sultan Muzaffar seems to have been to occupy the capital during the absence of the Sultan and then dictate his own terms. But when he found the capital well protected he realised that occupation would not be possible without fighting and a prolonged siege Under these conditions he thought it best to return to his kingdom

[1] *T.A* III, pp 178 & 389

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 179, *T A* III, p 177

The settlement of the Chanderi affair firmly established Mahmud in Malwa where the Rajputs under Medini Rai became powerful and Muzaffar Shah had to again wait for another opportunity. Muzaffar Shah got his opportunity in 923 A H / 1517 A D. when Sultan Mahmud left Mandu and went to Gujarat to seek his help in ousting the Rajputs from Malwa. Mahmud's seeking shelter in Gujarat and seeking the aid of Muzaffar Shah gave him the best opportunity that he ever could expect. His march on Malwa would be for a righteous cause of restoring its rightful king who would under the burden of obligation, become a protege of Gujarat. Therefore, when he received the news that Sultan Mahmud had come towards Gujarat as a fugitive, he was pleased and offered thanks to God.

MUZAFFAR SHAH II AND RESTORATION OF MAHMUD KHALJI

Sultan Mahmud had left Malwa in a very poor state, accompanied by one of his queens Rani Kanakar and Kishna [1] Medini Rai seems to have kept a number of Rajputs to wait upon the Sultan as his personal body-guards, but who in reality kept a close watch over Mahmud's activities Mahmud, therefore, had to take the precaution of getting these body-guards tired and exhausted by making them run about during the day while engaged in hunting, so that he could escape in the night unnoticed After leaving Mandu, Sultan Mahmud accompanied by Rani Kanakar and with the guidance of Kishna, reached Bhakor[2] after half of the night and one full day. When the news of Sultan Mahmud's arrival at Bhakor was received by Qaisar Khan the *Muqta* of Dohad, he immediately welcomed the fugitive Sultan and provided him all the necessary articles of comfort [3] Qaisar Khan then sent a messenger on a fast moving camel to Sultan Muzaffar informing him of

1 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 182 According to Sikandar, of the persons who attended upon the Sultan, Kishna was one Though resident of Malwa he was more attached to Mahmud *T A*. III, p 396 Nizam-ud-Din says that the Sultan connived with the '*Amir Akhur*' and requested him to keep three horses ready for the escape Thus it seems that Kishna, who was also a Rajput, held the post of '*Amir Akhur*' and left Mandu with Sultan Mahmud as his guide

2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 183, fn. 3, gives 10 *karoh* as the distance between Bhakor and Dohad

3 *T.A.* III, p 397.

the arrival of Sultan Mahmud [1] Muzaffar Shah was pleased and sent presents for Sultan Mahmud, along with an encouraging letter informing him that very soon he would be meeting him Muzaffar Shah then started from Muhammadabad (Champaner) on Thursday 4th *Ziqa'd* 923 A H.[2]/18th Nov 1517 A D and after covering three stages halted at Godhra on Thursday 11th *Ziqa'd* From Godhra he sent *Shahzada* Sikandar Khan back to Muhammadabad, and taking *Shahzadas* Latif Khan and Bahadur Khan with him marched towards Muzaffarabad, and on Saturday the 27th *Ziqa'd* pitched his tents at Bhakor village At Bhakor, Muzaffar Shah waited for a few days on receiving the news of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's death and observed the condolence formalities. From Bhakor he started on the 11th *Zilhijja* and halting during the night in village Dhanigaon (Dantigaon), he reached Deola[3] on the 14th *Zilhijja* 923 A H./ 28th Dec. 1517 A D. and pitched his tents there. On the 15th *Zilhijja* he gave a reception to Sultan Mahmud,[4] and after consoling him and giving him assurance he gave him many presents.[5] Sultan Muzaffar after this ordered that one month's pay should be given to the soldiers.

The author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi* mentions that while Sultan Muzaffar Shah was at this halt there arrived in the *Diwan-i-Wizarat* some relatives of Medini Rai, who had been sent by him and through whom he communicated his profession of loyalty, his real purpose being to secure information of the disposition of the army.[6] It is obvious from the above narrative that Medini Rai made an attempt to appease Sultan Muzaffar Shah so as to avoid an invasion of Malwa, which he was certain would be ruinous to the state. Yet as a far-sighted statesman he wanted to find out the strength of the Gujarati army so as to enable him to make necessary arrangements for defence in case no alternative was left.

[1] According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*, the news of Sultan Mahmud's arrival was received by Muzaffar Shah when he had already started towards Malwa on receiving the news of Medini Rai's ascendancy, and was halting at *qasba* Fathabad also known as Hatol *Add* 26279, fols 7a-9a.

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 184, also fn. 2, *Add* 26279, fol. 8a

[3] *Add* 26279, fol 14a, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 185, fn. 3

[4] *Add* 26279, fol. 14a [5] *Ibid*, fol 16a [6] *Ibid.*, fols. 17b, 18a

His effort was to persuade Mahmud Khalji to return to Malwa, and not to bring foreign aid into the country. But Mahmud Khalji was blind to the ultimate consequences He failed to realise that by taking Gujarat's aid he was lowering his position as an independent Sultan of Malwa Besides, in his determination to remove Medini Rai he completely ignored the possibility of the Rajputs of Malwa seeking the aid of Rana Sanga of Chittor as their last resort So far as Muzaffar Shah was concerned, he certainly would not have liked Mahmud Khalji to escape after coming to him and deprive him of the opportunity of establishing Gujarat's hegemony over Malwa.[1] The messengers of Medini Rai were therefore dismissed by him and on 18th *Zilhijja*[2] /1st Jan. 1518 A.D. Sultan Muzaffar started towards Dhar.

SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF SHADIABAD MANDU

When Medini Rai received the information through his men that Sultan Muzaffar Shah and Sultan Mahmud Shah were marching towards Dhar and that his offer of peace and compromise and submission had been rejected, he started preparations for the defence of the capital He left the fort of Shadiabad under the command of Rai Pithora assisted by Bhim Karan, Shadi Khan, Buddhan (Badan) and Ugra Sen, and himself accompanied by Silahdi and two thousand Rajput horsemen proceeded to Dhar. From Dhar Medini Rai left for the court of Rana Sanga for seeking his help As a precautionary measure, Medini Rai took the elephants of Sultan Mahmud with him [3]

Muzaffar Shah pitched his tents near the fort of Mandu and on 23rd *Zilhijja*/6th Jan. 1518 A.D. started the siege.[4] Qaisar

[1] Muzaffar Shah's view is reflected in the narrative of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-shahi*, where the author says—

بر ضمیر منیر سلطان جهان گیر خطور کرد که این
زمان هلال بدر شده، رشته را ازو باز کسم و ملاحظه نمایم
که بی رشته اطاعت امر ما می کند یانه ـ

He wanted to see whether Mahmud Khalji obeyed him after being away and free from him Vide, *Add* 26279, fol. 17b

[2] *Add* 26279, fol 18b, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 185, fn 4

[3] *T A* III, p 180, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 185; *Add* 26279, fol 19a.

[4] *Add*. 26279, fols 20a, 20b

Khan was placed in charge of the Dehli gate and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* was given the charge of the other gate When the siege was started, Medini Rai sent a message to the inmates of the fort to hold on by means of talks of peace or negotiations or by any means for about a month, when he would come with the forces of Rana Sanga.[1] The message of Medini Rai greatly encouraged the besieged and Rai Pithora sent a few of his relatives with presents to Qaisar Khan and Khudawand Khan *Wazir* on 25th *Zilhijja*/8th January and requested them that if a period of one month be granted to them, they would be able to evacuate the fort along with the families and children[2] and to facilitate the evacuation the Sultan should withdraw his forces one stage from the fort Qaisar Khan laid the presents before Sultan Muzaffar who granted their request.[3] The inmates of the fort then started the show of evacuation, but secretly informed Medini Rai that a month's time had been granted to them At the end of the allotted time, Muzaffar Shah found that the fort had not been evacuated; besides, while he received reinforcements from Adil Khan of Khandesh who was his nephew, he also received information that Medini Rai with Rana Sanga had arrived at Ujjain The news of the arrival of Rana Sanga greatly changed the situation because an attack from Rana Sanga would sandwich him between the invading Rajput forces and the forces inside the fort of Mandu He, therefore, sent Adil Khan and *Qawam-ul-Mulk* to prevent the further advance of Ranga Sanga, and vigorously pressed the siege anew so as to reduce the fort before the battle with Rana Sanga took place [4] He redistributed the batteries and posted Qaisar Khan on Dehli gate side, Sultan Mahmud on Shahpur gate side and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* towards Chanderi side [5] The siege was started on Sunday the 25th *Muharram* 924 A H./6th Feb. 1518 A.D. and the

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 186

[2] *Add* 26279, fol 22a, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 186 and fn 3

[3] *T A* III, p. 181. Nizam-ud-Din says, "Although Sultan Muzaffar knew that these people were merely temporizing and were waiting for reinforcements, still as the sons and other relations of Sultan Mahmud were in the fort, he had no other alternative, except to agree to their prayer, and he went and took up a position three *karoh* further back"

[4] *T. A* III, p 181

[5] *Add* 26279, fol. 27a.

fort was conquered on Saturday the 2nd *Safar* 924 A H [1]/13th Feb. 1518 A.D. The Rajputs, according to their practice, performed *Jauhar*. Sultan Muzaffar, after entering the fort, gave orders for a general massacre in which the number of persons killed has been estimated by Sikandar[2] at nineteen thousand and by the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*[3] at forty thousand Rajputs amongst which fifty-seven were *sardars*. The list of the important persons who fell fighting has been given by the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*[4] and includes the following names Pithora, Udi Karan, Kahan Deo, Horal Deo, Jamar Deo, Sangam Deo, Ujanat Deo, Ghazi Khan, Shadi Khan, Ratan Chand, Manak Chand, Bahadur Khan, Daulat Khan, Yak Lakhi, Akhi Chand, Kirat Chand, Dungar Si, Shadi Khan, Kaku, Bikram Sen, Malkhan, Rai Jangju, Pathan Pila, Jit Singh, Fath Khan, Sons of Sher Khan, Sons of Jagar Sen, Kakah and Pahan

After the general massacre was stopped and peace was restored, the arrested persons were brought before the Sultan, some of whom were executed and others were let off The Sultan also ordered that all persons arrested should be presented for identification, and amongst them one son, two daughters and a wife of Medini Rai were also identified It was also learnt that Hem Karan, the son of Medini Rai, and Badan (Buddhan) had been taken out of the fort in injured condition. Badan died later but Hem Karan survived [5] Sultan Muzaffar then broke his camp which had been pitched in the vicinity of

[1] *Add* 26279, fol 28a, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 187, fn. 1

T A III, p 181, however gives the date as 14th *Safar* 924 A.D. /25th Feb 1518 A H which seems to be wrong, because the author of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-shahi* states that the siege was restarted on 25th *Muharram* and after a siege of six days the fort was conquered The year of the conquest of Mandu is given in a chronogram composed on the occasion of its conquest.

مظفر شاه کرده فتح مندو که اول تخت گاهس داهر باشد
وگر پرسند از تاریخ فتحش "پریسانی همه کفار باشد"

Vide, *Add* 26279, fol 51b, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 187, fn 3

[2] *Ibid*, p 187, *T A* III p 182, also gives nineteen thousand

[3] *Add* 26279, fol 35a

[4] *Ibid*, fol. 35b The list of the persons who were killed clearly indicates that the resistance offered from the fort of Shadiabad was not of the Hindus alone

[5] *Add* 26279, fol 39b

Hoshang Shahi mosque and on 5th *Safar*/16th Feb came out of the fort of Shadiabad and took up his residence in Nalcha on the 7th *Safar* Before leaving Shadiabad, Muzaffar had restored Mahmud Khalji to the throne of Malwa [1] Behind the apparent generosity of Muzaffar Shah, however, was his own concern over the presence of Rana Sanga and of Medini Rai in Malwa He did not consider it wise to occupy the fort and be besieged in his own turn by the forces of Rana Sanga and the Rajputs of Malwa coupled with such Malwi elements as were opposed to the Gujaratis He had after reaching Nalcha actually started towards Ujjain to meet Rana Sanga, but on reaching Dhar he received information that Adil Khan and the *amirs* had not yet gone beyond Dipalpur, when Rana Sanga hearing of the fall of the fort of Shadiabad had left Ujjain taking Medini Rai and Silahdi with him, and had already retraced his steps twenty-seven *karoh* [2] Muzaffar Shah gave up the idea of pursuing Rana Sanga, and halting at Dhar, recalled Adil Khan from Dipalpur.

While Muzaffar Shah was halting at Dhar, Sultan Mahmud invited him to visit Shadiabad and to stay with him for a few days as his guest. Sultan Mahmud had sent the invitation through his son,[3] along with the belt and sword of Sultan

[1] Sikandar gives the cause of Muzaffar's hasty return from Shadiabad due to the suggestion of some of his nobles who told him not to return such a rich and vast country like Malwa which was bigger than Gujarat, after it had been conquered The Sultan felt that if he stayed longer he might be tempted to possess the kingdom and therefore, hastily came out Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 188 *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*, (*Add* 26279), fol 38b says, though the country according to *Shara'* was his by conquest he returned it to Mahmud

[2] *T. A* III, pp 182 & 400. Nizam-ud-Din says, that one of the notables had fled from Mandu in wounded condition and reaching the camp of Rana Sanga narrated the ferocity of the massacre by Sultan Muzaffar in such a way that the Rana was frightened and fled towards Chittor and that Rajput died immediately after he had finished his narration, *Add* 26279, fols, 39b, 40a, also give the same story and mention the name of the person as Badan, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 192 Sikandar gives the story as given in *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi* (*Add* 27279), *Vir Vinod*, I, p 357 *Kaviraj* Shyamal Das says, that Rana Sanga returned because the persons for whose aid he had gone were already dead.

[3] According to *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 189, and *T A* III, p 182, Sultan Mahmud personally went to invite, and do not mention the presents, but according to another reading of *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* as given in fn 2, p 189 and *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi* (*Add.* 26279), fol 43a, Mahmud sent his son along with the presents

Qutb-ud-din—which had come into the possession of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I in the battle of Kapar Bhanj—and some horses of good breed. Muzaffar Shah accepted the invitation and after bestowing honours and presents permitted him to return On 15th of *Safar*[1]/26-2-1518 Muzaffar Shah went to Shadiabad, leaving behind his camp in Dhar. Mahmud Khalji gave him a befitting reception. The city of Shadiabad and the royal palace were decorated in such a manner as to draw admiration from all spectators Sultan Mahmud personally attended upon Muzaffar Shah and after dinner was over, he placed presents of all kinds before Sultan Muzaffar and the *Shahzadas*. In his attempt to please Sultan Muzaffar, he even presented a large number of inmates of his *harem*, who appeared in the hall all in pleasant dresses and carrying trays full of gold and jewel. Sultan Muzaffar, however, seems to have been alarmed with so much show of humility and was afraid of the consequences that a night of debauchery might bring for him. He, therefore, asked Mahmud to order the ladies of the *harem* to retire immediately which Mahmud readily complied with[2] Muzaffar Shah took his leave on the next day in the afternoon Laden with rich presents consisting of Turkish horses, huge elephants, various kinds of cloth and dresses and sufficient quantity of precious stones, he marched towards his own camp. Mahmud also accompanied him upto Deola, from where Sultan Muzaffar gave him permission to return[3]

Thus we find that in the entire dealings with Mahmud Khalji, Muzaffar Shah displayed great magnanimity, but he never for a moment overlooked precaution. His aim of reducing Mahmud to the position of a suppliant was fulfilled. Keeping of Asaf Khan with a few *amirs* in command of the Gujarati army, apparently for the protection of Mahmud, was in reality equivalent to posting guards round Mahmud Mahmud, though he remained Sultan of Malwa, virtually became a dependent of the Gujarati Sultan.

[1] *Add* 26279, fol. 45b, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 190, fn. 1, gives two dates 15th & 11th *Safar*, *T A.* III, p. 182, says Muzaffar Shah was accompanied by *Shahzadas* Sikandar Khan and Latif Khan and Adil Khan the ruler of Asir Nizam-ud-Din seems to have overlooked that *Shahzada* Sikandar Khan was sent back to Muhammadabad and *Shahzadas* Latif Khan and Bahadur Khan had accompanied Muzaffar Shah

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 190, 191; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 109

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 192, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 110.

AFTER-EFFECTS OF MUZAFFAR SHAH'S DEPARTURE

The immediate effect of the expulsion of the Rajputs from the capital and the occupation of Malwa by Muzaffar Shah was that the Rajputs spread to different parts of the kingdom. Northern and Eastern Malwa had a majority of Rajputs and they had loyally served the rulers of Malwa till the behaviour meted out to them by Mahmud Therefore, immediately after the departure of Muzaffar Shah, they started asserting their independence in such centres as were strong-holds of the Rajputs Among such centres, Gagraun was the first to assert independence After leaving Mandu, Medini Rai had been actively moving through northern Malwa, rallying the Rajputs and keeping touch with Rana Sanga. He had kept his family in the fort of Gagraun and placed it under the command of his son Hem Karan who had escaped from Mandu.[1] Sultan Mahmud was afraid of the revenge of the Rajputs and thought that before Medini Rai succeeded in consolidating his position, he should attack and occupy Gagraun where Medini Rai had set up his headquarters He consulted Asif Khan and in agreement with him attacked Gagraun. When Medini Rai heard of this attack of Mahmud, he immediately appealed to Rana Sanga and returned with a strong Rajput force for the relief of Gagraun. When Mahmud came to know that Rana Sanga was advancing with a strong force he raised the siege and proceeded against the invading Rajput forces Mahmud, however, committed a blunder by covering a long distance in a short time with the consequence that he came very near the Rajput camp and halted at a distance of only seven *karoh* Rana Sanga learning about the arrival of Mahmud, summoned his chiefs and decided upon an immediate attack, before Mahmud could get time to set his army in order. The attack of the Rajputs was so severe that Mahmud's army was completely routed. The battle was a decisive one and Mahmud lost thirty-two *amirs*, and Asaf Khan Gujarati paid the price for his advice with his life and lives of five hundred of his companions.[2] Mahmud Khalji, however, displayed personal bravery and

[1] *TA* III, p 401, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 193; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 107.

[2] Nizam-ud-Din in the Malwa section says that Asaf Khan was killed, but in Gujarat section says, the son of Asaf Khan was killed. Vide, *TA* III, pp. 183 and 402

courage. He kept fighting till he was wounded and thrown off his horse. He was immediately captured but Rana Sanga showed all marks of respect to him both for his being a brave soldier and a king. Mahmud Khalji was taken to Chittor[1] where his wounds were attended by the physicians and he soon recovered his health Rana Sanga realised that permanent occupation of Malwa would not be very effective whereas Mahmud restored to Malwa, laden with obligations, would solve the problem of the Malwa front and leave him free in other directions The measures taken by Rana Sanga at the time of restoring Mahmud Khalji clearly indicate that he was not blind to the political realities. From Mahmud he took the jewelled crown of Hoshang Shah and kept his son in his own court as surety for his friendly attitude.[2] If Muzaffar Shah had made Mahmud his dependent Rana Sanga did no less. Mahmud now not only owed a debt of gratitude for his life and throne[3] to Rana Sanga but also found that he was rendered powerless against the Rajputs of northern Malwa who had strong support in the ruler of Chittor.

When Sultan Muzaffar Shah came to know of the position of Mahmud in relation to Rana Sanga, he realised that unless some steps were taken Gujarat influence would soon be on wane in

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 193, Sikandar says, Mahmud was taken to Chittor in a *palki*. *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 110, Haji-ud-dabir says that Mahmud was sent in a *palki* towards the capital where a surgeon attended his wounds, and then Rana Sanga sent him towards Mandu, *T. A.* III, p. 403 Nizam-ud-Din does not clearly say that Mahmud was taken to Chittor He gives an impression that Mahmud was attended upon somewhere near the place where the battle was fought, and from where, after his recovery he was sent to Mandu, with a Rajput escort and Rana Sanga himself returned to Chittor, *Vir Vinod*, I, pp 357, 358, *Kavraj* Shyamal Das also accepts that Mahmud was taken to Chittor, and also mentions that in the Darbar held to celebrate the victory, Rana Sanga gave the village of Dhokha to Mahpa Jaitawat who was one of his (Shyamal Das's) ancestors, *Ras Mala*, I, p. 366

Vir Vinod, I, p 357. Forbes only says that Mahmud was defeated and taken prisoner

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 193, *T. A* III, p 403, *Firishta*, II, p. 528 According to Firishta it was the crown of Hoshang Shah

[3] Nizam-ud-Din says, Rana Sanga's generosity was greater than Muzaffar Shah because Muzaffar had only helped a person who had come to his shelter but Rana Sanga having captured an enemy in battle, gave him back his kingdom —parallel of which cannot be found in History

Malwa. He, therefore, sent a large force and a soothing letter apparently to reinforce Sultan Mahmud but in reality to retain Gujarat's hold over Malwa.[1] But Sultan Mahmud was a restless person. Brave and courageous as he was, he never liked to remain under the domination of any one Therefore, soon after he felt himself secure on the throne of Malwa, he politely requested Muzaffar Shah to withdraw the Gujarati forces [2] Muzaffar seems to have fully understood the temperament of Mahmud Shah and complied with his request by withdrawing the Gujarati forces from Malwa

EFFECTS OF THE ACTIVITIES OF MUZAFFAR SHAH II AND RANA SANGA

As a result of Muzaffar Shah's invasion of Mandu a large number of Rajputs were killed which considerably reduced the military strength of Malwa We have already noticed that in the defence of Mandu not only Rajputs but also a number of Muslim *amirs* lost their lives, and the general massacre following the capture of the fort had inflicted such an injury as could not be healed up quickly The *amirs* lost their confidence in Mahmud So far as the Rajputs were concerned, they had found an asylum in Malwa under Hoshang Shah, a policy which had not only been continued by Mahmud Khalji, but he had extended it so much as to earn the title of helper 'of the *kafirs*' [3] The policy was continued by Ghiyath Shah and Nasir Shah, and Mahmud should have been grateful to the Rajputs but for whose assistance he might have lost his crown earlier Instead, when he called in Muzaffar Shah just because he could not tolerate to be dominated by anyone, he destroyed the very prop on which his own crown had depended. The Rajputs could no more expect any favours by supporting him Mahmud's captivity in the hands of Rana Sanga, and his subsequent recovery of the throne through the mercy of the latter, gave a fresh impetus as well as a new direction for the Rajputs to look to. Mahmud's position became precarious, dependent as he was upon outside military aid Under these conditions Malwa easily became a sphere of influence of both Mewar and Gujarat, the former in northern Malwa and the latter in western Malwa.

But when Mahmud requested for the withdrawal of even this foreign military aid he actually set in the process of

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 193; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 110
[2] *TA* III, p. 403
[3] *Riyaz-ul-Insha*, pp. 114, 258

dismemberment of the Malwa kingdom Immediately after the withdrawal of the Gujarati forces, Mahmud's weakness became evident. The side of Mandsaur passed to Rana Sanga, and the hold of Malwa from Harauti and Khichiwara was gone, Chanderi was occupied by Medini Rai; Silahdi *Purbiya* brought the country from the boundary of Sarangpur as far as Bhilsa and Raisen[1] under his control and became independent, and in the south-east Sikandar Khan became independent in the territory of Satwas.[2] Thus only a fragment of the large kingdom, carved out by Mahmud Khalji I, was left to Mahmud Khalji II by the end of the year 925 A.H /1519 A D. In 926 A.H /1519-20 A.D. Mahmud, however, made an attempt to reassert his authority and marched towards Bhilsa. Silahdi also came out with his forces and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Sarangpur. Though Mahmud's army was routed but his personal valour gained for him the day. Silahdi could not push the rout into a victory Silahdi's men engaged themselves in plundering the camp of Mahmud and neglected their guard Sultan at this time collected whatever force he could get, and made a personal charge, with the result that Silahdi had to make a hasty retreat. Mahmud then pushed upto Sarangpur and occupied it along with twenty-four elephants. Thus Sarangpur was recovered, but Silahdi retained Bhilsa and Raisen.[3]

Sultan Mahmud afterwards ruled peacefully, but the political atmosphere of northern India became so much disturbed from 932 A H./1525-26 A D. that Mahmud could not keep himself free from its disturbing effects. Sultan Muzaffar's death[4] on 22nd *Jumada* II, 932 A H./April 5, 1526 A D.—just when Babur was busy for the final contest at Panipat with the Afghan power of Dehli—opened a period of party factions and contest

[1] "The town and the famous old fort of Raisen are situated at 23.20'N and 77 47'E, 22 miles from Bhopal The fort stands on an outlier of sandstone rock 1,980 feet above sea level, the town lying at its foot The name is most probably a corruption of Rajavasini, but might possibly be, as one local tradition has it, from the name of its founder Rai Sing " Vide, Luard, *Central India State Gazetteer*, Vol. III, (Bhopal State) p 112 In the fn. Luard mentions "The Rajasayan mentioned in the Paramara land grant of V S 1200 may be this place—see *I A* XIX, 352,"

[2] *T A*. III, 403, *Firishta*, II, p 528 [3] *Firishta*, II, p 528

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 239; *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 130, gives 2nd *Jumada* II, 932 A H., *Commissariat*, p 281, 5th April, 1526

for power among the nobles of Gujarat Muzaffar Shah was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khan who had been nominated as successor by the ailing Sultan The nomination had embittered Bahadur Khan, who had left Gujarat and was then with Ibrahim Lodi Sikandar Khan's rule lasted for only a few weeks and on 14th *Sha'ban* 932 A H [1]/26th May 1526 A D he was assassinated by *'Imad-ul-Mulk* The assassination of Sultan Sikandar marked the beginning of a disturbed state of affairs in Gujarat Sultanate which could not enjoy peace any more [2] During these disturbances Bahadur Khan, on receiving the news of his father's death, returned towards Gujarat and received the information of Sikandar Shah's murder, while halting at Chittor Bahadur Khan then entered Gujarat and after some initial opposition finally ascended the throne of Gujarat[3] on 26th *Ramazan* 932 A H /6-7-1526 A D But his accession did not establish his full authority at once The nobles who were against him started looking for aid from the neighbouring kingdoms They even looked towards Babur for help, who had by then established himself after his victory at Panipat [4]

MAHMUD KHALJI OFFENDS BAHADUR SHAH

While Bahadur Shah was busy in subjugating and pacifying malefactors and discontented elements Sultan Mahmud Khalji II could not keep himself aloof from Gujarat affairs Thus when *Shahzada* Chand Khan, brother of Bahadur Shah, came to Mandu seeking protection, Sultan Mahmud gave him shelter and asylum Chand Khan had separated from Bahadur Khan

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 243, *T A* III, p 198 has 19th *Sha'ban*

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 241

[3] Bahadur Shah's first coronation took place in Naharwala Patan on 26th *Ramazan*, 932 A H His formal coronation took place on the day of *'Id-i-Ramazan* 932 A H in Ahmedabad and on 14th *Ziqa'd* 932 A H he ascended the throne of Gujarat in Champaner which was then capital of Gujarat

Mir'at-i-Sikandari, pp. 258, 259, 263, *Commissariat*, pp 315-17, coronation at Patan on 6th July 1526 Held darbar in Ahmedabad on *'Id-ul-Fitr*. On August 14, 1526 second coronation ceremony at Champaner

[4] *'Imad-ul-Mulk* had sent one petition to Babur seeking his help and another to Nizam-ul-Mulk *Dakhni*, just when Taj Khan had decided to invite Bahadur Shah Vide, *T A* III, p 200, *Firishta*, II, pp 420-21.

This invitation was sent before the accession of Bahadur Shah, after his accession, *Razi-ul-Mulk* had personally gone to Babur to invite him

and had remained at Chittor,[1] but the defeat of Rana Sanga at Khanwa reduced Chittor to a power of no consequence; hence Chand Khan came to Mandu. *Razi-ul-Mulk*, an old noble of Muzaffar Shah who had gone to Babur to negotiate for replacing Bahadur Khan with Chand Khan, came to Mandu to consult Chand Khan and then returned to Agra. When Bahadur Shah heard about the activities of *Razi-ul-Mulk* he sent a letter to Mahmud Khalji protesting against the activities of *Razi-ul-Mulk* from Mandu. But Bahadur soon learnt that *Razi-ul-Mulk* had again visited Chand Khan in Mandu and had returned to Agra. Bahadur Shah was thus offended and decided to chastise Mahmud Khalji.[2]

No doubt Mahmud owed his crown to Muzaffar Shah II and possibly because of the gratitude could not refuse asylum to *Shahzada* Chand Khan, but it was a blunder on his part to allow Mandu to become a centre of intrigues against Bahadur Shah, the ruling Sultan of Gujarat But Mahmud, though personally brave, was devoid of practical wisdom He might have felt that with the death of Muzaffar Shah II, Rana Sanga and Medini Rai, he was the most important Sultan and could easily play the role of a king-maker, for which, however, he was least competent. Truly speaking, the exit of Muzaffar Shah, Rana Sanga and Medini Rai should have been a cause of all the more caution and calculation. These three persons had, besides their political ambition, shown extreme balance and understanding, and with their departure, a state of political chaos was created, which Mahmud certainly was not capable enough to control Mahmud had already antagonised the *amirs* of Malwa, and from them he could hardly expect anything better than apathy. Under these conditions, when he instead of keeping Bahadur Shah, the new ruler of Gujarat, friendly towards him, provoked him, he only put the last nail to his own coffin.

BAHADUR SHAH'S OCCUPATION OF MALWA

The news of the second visit of *Razi-ul-Mulk* so much enraged Bahadur Shah that he kept absolutely silent, and seems to have

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p 362 Chand Khan and Ibrahim had entered the service of Rana Sanga earlier They met Bahadur Khan on his return from Delhi. Chand Khan stayed in Chittor with Rana Sanga, while Ibrahim accompanied Bahadur Khan to Gujarat

[2] *T A*. III, p. 405, *Firishta*, II, p. 529.

determined to remove Mahmud Shah about whom, it is doubtful that he had a very high opinion But he wanted to catch Mahmud unawares Pretending that he was moving only to punish some of the refractory subjects, Bahadur Shah pushed upto the border of Malwa [1] At this time Ratan Sen, the successor of Rana Sanga, whose territories had been invaded by Mahmud earlier, also marched towards Malwa. Mahmud was alarmed and distressed when he heard that these two rulers were simultaneously moving towards Malwa. Mahmud now thought of enlisting the support of Silahdi and Mu'in Khan *ibn* Sikandar Khan of Satwas, who were the most powerful chiefs of Malwa. He summoned both of them for help, and when they came, he tried to please them by granting some parganas to Silahdi, and by conferring the title of *Masnad-i-'Ali* along with a red pavilion on Mu'in Khan. But Mahmud's attempt was rather late. These *amirs* no longer trusted him Mu'in Khan, after accepting the rewards, left Sultan Mahmud, and went to the camp of Bahadur Shah who was then halting at Sanbal village, and there complained against Mahmud

Mahmud now tried to appease Bahadur Shah and sent Darya Khan as his envoy to wait on Sultan Bahadur Shah with the message that, "The rights of nurture of your dynasty are incumbent on me, and as the distance between us has become less, I wish to appear in your presence and offer my congratulations on your accession."[2] The envoy also conveyed to Bahadur Shah that Mahmud Shah was hesitant to come personally, because he was abashed and ashamed for having given asylum to Chand Khan. Bahadur Shah, however, assured him that he had overlooked the affair of Chand Khan and would not demand from Mahmud the person of Chand Khan [3] After granting leave to the envoy, Bahadur Shah moved upto the banks of the river Karkhi.[4] Silahdi also in the meantime left Mahmud and came to Bahadur Shah where Ratan Sen of Chittor also arrived After granting leave to Ratan Sen,

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 274 Bahadur Shah came to Mehrasa in Bagad

[2] *T A* III (Tr), p 611

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 276

[4] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 275, has "*Ghat Karjhi*". *Commissariat*, p. 325 places it before the coming of the envoy of Mahmud Khalji and says, "About the end of January 1531 Bahadur marched against the Malwa ruler and passed the Karji Ghat where Rana Ratan Singh and Silahdi were admitted to an interview."

Bahadur Shah pushed further and waited for the arrival of Mahmud Shah at Sambla [1] Sultan Mahmud, however, seems to have realised that the intentions of Bahadur Shah were different from what he displayed, and decided not to visit his camp Therefore, instead of moving towards the camp of Bahadur Shah, Mahmud marched out from Ujjain towards Satwas with the pretext of chastising the servants of Sikandar Khan, but most probably to collect forces from that side. But as ill-luck would have it, he fell from his horse while hunting, and fractured his right arm, and he had no other alternative but to return to Mandu At Mandu, Mahmud Shah started setting up the defences and at the same time sent Darya Khan to Bahadur Shah informing him of his misfortune and inability under the condition to come personally.[2]

Bahadur Shah, however, on this occasion gave expression of his feelings and told Darya Khan, "As he has broken his promise several times, if he does not come I shall go myself"[3] He also told Darya Khan to return to his master and ask him to attend at once After the departure of Darya Khan, Bahadur Shah marched further into the interior and arrived at Dipalpur, where he received the information that Mahmud Shah was intending to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, and conferring on him the title of Ghiyath-ud-din, he was intending to move to some secluded place At Dipalpur, Bahadur Shah received some Mahmudshahi *amirs* who informed him that Mahmud Shah would not come voluntarily Bahadur Shah then moved to Sudpur, where *Shiraz-ul-Mulk*, after leaving Mandu, joined him Bahadur Shah finally arrived at Nalcha, from where he started the siege of the fort. Muhammad Shah Asiri was posted at the Shahpur gate, Ulugh Khan at Bhilpur, and *Purbiya* contigent at Pahalwania side and he set up his headquarters at Muhammadpur for personally conducting the siege [4]

When Mahmud was besieged in the fort of Mandu, in the beginning he showed great energy in arranging for its defence, and

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 276

[2] *T A* III, p 215, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 276 Sikandar does not mention the name of Darya Khan

[3] *T A* III (Tr), p 352

[4] *T A* III (Tr), p 353, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 277, says, the siege started on 20th *Rajab* /9th March, *Commissariat*, p 325, says, Bahadur Shah reached the foot of the hill capital on about March 9, 1531 A.D

though he had only three thousand men with him, he distributed them on the various bastions, and himself personally supervised throughout the night, taking rest at intervals in the Ghiyath-shahi College Mahmud, however, soon discovered that there was treachery and hostility in his camp and that some persons had secretly connived with Bahadur Shah. On this discovery Mahmud lost all hope and realising that his end was near he retired to his palace [1]

Bahadur Shah succeeded in entering the fort on the morning of 9th *Sha'ban* 937 A.H.[2]/ March 28, 1531 A.D Though Mahmud came out with a body of soldiers, he found the futility of his opposition and retired to his *harem* to kill the ladies so that they may not fall into the hands of the enemy. But before he could do so, his palace was surrounded by Bahadur Shah's men. Bahadur Shah had sent a message of protection and safety to Mahmud and the inmates of his *harem*, though he had ordered a general massacre and imprisonment of persons inside the fort, which lasted for one watch [3] Bahadur Shah summoned Mahmud from his seat in the *Lal Mahal* and accordingly Mahmud went to meet him with seven of his *amirs* Bahadur Shah received him cordially, but very soon showed his displeasure at the tone of Mahmud's talk. He gave permission to the *amirs* to retire but put Mahmud and seven of his *amirs* under arrest and placed them under the charge of Asaf Khan with a guard of hundred soldiers.

On 10th *Sha'ban*, Bahadur Shah gave permission to the seven *amirs* who had accompanied Mahmud to retire, and on Friday, the 12th of *Sha'ban*/March 31, 1531 A D , he caused the *Khutba*[4] to be read in his own name, which was equivalent to the announcement that Bahadur Shah was the ruler of Malwa or that Malwa had been annexed to Gujarat Mahmud and his seven sons were put in chains and on Saturday, they were sent to the fort of Champaner as prisoners under the charge of Asaf Khan and Iqbal Khan. But Mahmud was not destined to live peacefully even in prison While Asaf Khan and Iqbal Khan

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 530.

[2] *T A* III, p 217, *Firishta*, II, p 530, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 196, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 277 and fn 6 Mahmud's attempt to slay his wife and children has been mentioned by Nizam-ud-Din alone

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 278

[4] *T A* III, p 408, *Firishta*, II, p 531, *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 196.

were on their way to Champaner, they were attacked by Rai Singh of Malhiabad[1] on the night of *Shab-i-barat* on 14th *Sha'ban* 937 A H /2nd April 1531 A.D. Mahmud taking advantage of the confusion cut the chains off his feet, but before he could do anything more, the guards took alarm and fearing the punishment that they would receive from their master in case Mahmud escaped, they killed Mahmud along with his sons Thus with the reading of the *Khutba* in the name of Bahadur Shah came the end of the independent kingdom of Malwa founded by 'Amid Shah and Hoshang Shah and nurtured by Mahmud Khalji I, and with the death of Mahmud and his sons came the end of the Khalji dynasty of Malwa.

ESTIMATE OF MAHMUD KHALJI II

Mahmud was personally brave and courageous and in all the battles that were fought he distinguished himself by the display of his personal valour All the contemporary and later historians are unanimous in their appreciation of Mahmud's courage. But his courage often led him to foolhardiness. He was also extremely self-willed but he lacked the capacity of understanding which is absolutely essential to successfully conclude any undertaking. He was completely devoid of the qualities of a monarch He allowed himself time and again to be used as a puppet by ambitious *amirs* The murder of *Rai* Shiv Das who was his *wazir* and had occupied that post in the reign of his father, in the very beginning of his reign exposed his weakness to the *amirs* The other *amirs* took advantage of this and used him against their enemies and rivals. Instead of taking a bold and strong attitude, Mahmud was always conniving with the *amirs* for the murder of those who started dominating over him, a method which soon destroyed the confidence of the *amirs* in their Sultan But the worst aspect of Mahmud's character is revealed in his dealings with Medini Rai, when he allowed himself to be made a party for the assassination of Medini Rai, who had served him with loyalty and devotion As a monarch,

[1] *T A* III, pp 408-9, *Firishta*, II, p 531 Firishta says, Kolis and Bhils had attacked, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 278, has Udaisingh Raja of Pal, *Commissariat*, p 326. "When the party arrived at Dohad it was attacked by a force of some two thousand Bhils and Kolis under the Raja of Pol, probably with the object of rescuing the ruler of Malwa Pol is a small state in the north-east frontiers of Mahikantha Agency adjoining Mewar in Rajputana The country is thoroughly hilly and wild "

if he did not approve of his actions, he could have asserted himself by issuing his own orders, but he seems to have cared more for his '*shikar*' and his '*harem*' and hardly knew anything about the problems of his kingdom His act of leaving Mandu and going to Gujarat was most unbecoming of a monarch, which ultimately led to massacre in the fort of Mandu which had enjoyed continued prosperity for more than a century. No wonder, he carried with him to his grave, the glory and grandeur of Malwa, and left the country in the pangs of death which lasted for about thirty years from which it was relieved by its final absorption into the Mughal Empire.

Chapter XII

DEATH PANGS OF THE STATE OF MALWA

Occupation of Malwa by Bahadur Shah—The Mughal occupation of Malwa—End of Mughal occupation of Malwa—Malwa regains Independence—Invasion of Sher Shah—Conquest of Raisen—Malwa under the Afghans—The governorship of Shuja'wal Khan—Baz Bahadur—Attack on Gondwana and defeat—Malwa under Baz Bahadur—Mughal invasion of Malwa and its conquest—Conduct of Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad —Baz Bahadur re-occupies Malwa—Re-appearance of the Mughals—Final incorporation of Malwa as a Mughal Suba

WITH the death of Sultan Mahmud Khalji II in 937 A H./1531 A D. came not only the end of the Khalji dynasty but also the end of the independent kingdom of Malwa. Henceforth for a period of a little more than three decades, her history became a long painful story of struggle for re-establishment of her independence on the one side and the total domination by Imperial power of Dehli on the other till the final conquest by Malwa by Akbar in 1562 A.D closed the issue. With her incorporation as a Suba of the Mughal Empire, peace was again restored

OCCUPATION OF MALWA BY BAHADUR SHAH

With the reading of the *Khutba* in the name of Bahadur Shah on 12th *Sha'ban* 937 A H /March 31, 1531, Gujarat rule was established over Malwa But Bahadur Shah was conscious that immediate replacement of Malwa *amirs* by Gujarati *amirs* would create extreme discontent under which it would become difficult to keep the kingdom under control. Besides, he had received substantial help from quite a number of *amirs* of Malwa, who were quite powerful and exercised considerable influence in their own localities, and such *amirs* had to be kept satisfied till he became strong enough to crush them To add to his difficulties, the kingdom of Khandesh had also to be protected from the aggressions of Nizam Shah who had very recently established himself in Ahmadnagar Under these conditions

he allowed Silahdi *Purbiya* to retain Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen, and also confirmed Mu'in Khan in his territory of Satwas

Bahadur Shah, immediately after making these arrangements, proceeded to Burhanpur in Khandesh so as to force Burhan Nizam Shah[1] to comply with the terms of the treaty that he had concluded earlier Burhan Nizam Shah readily complied and joined his service. Bahadur's intention in this settlement with Burhan Nizam Shah was, according to Firishta,[2] to enlist the support of the new ruler against any possible aggression of the Mughals. After being satisfied with the South, Bahadur Shah again returned to Malwa, this time, with a view to reduce the power of Silahdi. With Sarangpur, Ujjain, Bhilsa and Raisen, Silahdi certainly was very powerful; and after the death of Medini Rai and fall of Chanderi, he had become the leader of the *Purbiya* Rajputs, who were still in sufficient numbers in Malwa. According to Nizam-ud-Din[3] "it became known that Silahdi *Purbiya* was not inclined to come and wait on the Sultan, for the reason, that he had in the time of Sultan Mahmud Khalji taken some Musalman women, and in fact even some of the members of Sultan Nasir-ud-din's *harem* into his own house and had kept them there." The cause of attack on Silhadi as given by Nizam-ud-Din, however, at best was only a pretext[4] The intention of Bahadur Shah to reduce Silahdi is clearly indicated by the precautions taken by him before proceeding against Silahdi. Bahadur Shah sent back Maqbul Khan to Champaner to look after the fort and from there called Ikhtiyar Khan with artillery, troops and treasure. Ikhtiyar Khan came with a large army and joined Bahadur Shah when he was staying at Dhar. Bahadur Shah took further precaution not to make public his intentions. On 20th *Rabi'* II, 938 A H./1st Dec. 1531, he proclaimed that he was returning to Gujarat, but returned to Mandu for making the necessary arrangements The fort of Mandu, he left under the command of Ikhtiyar Khan and

[1] *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, pp 275, 277, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 279.

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 432

[3] *T A* III, p 217, (Tr), p 355

[4] *Commissariat*, p 327 Commissariat opines, "Bahadur Shah must need consider his conquest of Malwa incomplete so long Silahdi, the powerful Rajput fief, holder of Raisen, Ujjain and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in eastern districts of Malwa"

encamped himself at Nalcha[1] on 25th *Jumada* I, 938 A.H./4-1-1532.

Bhupat, the son of Silahdi, learnt the real intention of Bahadur Shah and to appease the Sultan, offered to go to his father and to send him to the Sultan.[2] Bahadur Shah permitted him to go to Ujjain, but as a precautionary measure, he also marched towards Ujjain and encamped at Dhar. After leaving his main army at Dhar, Bahadur Shah moved about on a hunting excursion in the regions of Dipalpur, Banharia and Sadulpur[3] Silahdi on learning matters from Bhupat came to Dhar, but Amir Nasir, to gain the favour of the Sultan informed him that he had persuaded Silahdi to come, by giving him false hope of getting Kambyat and a *kror* of cash; but Silahdi had no intention of remaining loyal to Bahadur Shah, and if he was permitted to return he would get absolutely out of hand. The Sultan immediately returned to Dhar and after a consultation with the *amirs*, he took Silahdi along with him into the fort of Dhar where he was immediately put under arrest. His Rajput companion wanted to kill Silahdi to escape imprisonment but when reprimanded, he killed himself.[4] In this act of maintaining his presence of mind, Silahdi certainly was playing a very clever game. He was a veteran in politics and knew very well the consequences of rashness. His other consideration might also have been that he had left his camp behind and if he politely complied with all the wishes of the Sultan, his camp might be spared However, immediately after Silahdi's arrest his camp was plundered, a large number of his followers were killed and his elephants, horses and equipage were taken in the royal treasury. So far as the conduct of Bahadur Shah is concerned, it is full of treachery. It was Bahadur Shah who was treacherous and deceitful in his conduct and not Silahdi.[5]

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 432, *T. A* III, p 218

[2] *T A* III (Tr), p 356

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 432, *T. A* III, p. 218, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 282

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 433, *T A* III, p 219

[5] Persian historians have laid great stress on Silahdi's keeping Muslim women in his *harem* as the chief cause of Bahadur Shah's resentment Taking into consideration that Muslim Sultans and *amirs* took as many Hindu women in their *harem* as they could, it is surprising that they should resent when a reverse process started It can only indicate that keeping women of the other faith was considered by the contemporary society as a matter of social prestige Thus when Hindus kept Muslim women it was considered as a matter of disgrace for the Muslims and hence their resentment

After the arrest of Silahdi, Bahadur Shah sent *'Imad-ul-Mulk* to attack Bhupat at Ujjain, and leaving Khudawand Khan to accompany his camp to bring it after him, himself advanced to Ujjain, closely following *'Imad-ul-Mulk*.[1] Ujjain was easily occupied, because Bhupat on receiving the news of Silahdi's arrest immediately left for Chittor to get help from the new *Rana* Bikramajit Chittor under Ratan Singh, the immediate successor of Rana Sanga, had maintained friendly relations with Gujarat and Ratan Singh had never offended Bahadur Shah. But Bikramajit who was not on friendly terms[2] with Ratan Singh, was likely to help Bhupat against Bahadur Shah Bahadur Shah, after occupying Ujjain, placed it under the charge of Darya Khan. Darya Khan was an old *amir* of Malwa, and as noted earlier, had been sent by Mahmud Khalji II as envoy to Bahadur Shah to negotiate, but had secretly informed him about the actual position. Now for his betrayal of the cause of Malwa he was rewarded with the government of Ujjain

From Ujjain, Bahadur Shah proceeded towards Sarangpur, which also had been evacuated by the *Purbiya* Rajputs After occupying Sarangpur he bestowed it upon Mallu Khan[3] son of Mallu Khan who was also an old *amir* of Malwa At Sarangpur, Bahadur Shah confirmed Habib Khan in the government of Ashta. Ashta also seems to have been occupied by *Purbiyas*, because we find that Habib Khan had to slay a large number of them before occupying it Bahadur Shah was now free to concentrate on the two main strongholds of the Rajputs, *i.e* Bhilsa and Raisen Of these two places, the fort of Raisen was the headquarters of Silahdi, and had been very strongly fortified. After the departure of Bhupat towards Chittor and Silahdi's arrest, Lakshman Sen, the brother of Silahdi, had further exerted himself to strengthen the fortification of Raisen[4] Bahadur first arrived at Bhilsa and easily occupied it and waited there for three days for the erection of a mosque and other

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 282

[2] *Vir Vinod*, II, p 7 In 1531 A D Ratan Singh was killed in his attempt to kill Surajmal Hada the maternal uncle of Bikramajit Bikramajit and his younger brother Udai Singh had been assigned a *jagir* by Rana Sanga during his life-time, and Surajmal Hada, the maternal uncle, had been appointed as their guardian This was the cause of Ratan Singh's displeasure In fray, however, both Ratan Singh and Surajmal were killed

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 433; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 283

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 433

buildings for pious purposes. This pious and religious conduct on the part of Bahadur Shah was not without purpose. He was conscious of the impending difficulty that he was about to face in Raisen and wanted to impress upon his own men that he was conducting a *jihad* so that they in their religious zeal would well-endure the hardships.

SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF RAISEN

Bahadur Shah started from Bhilsa on 17th *Jumada* II, 938 A.H [1]/26-1-1532 A.D. and proceeded towards Raisen. He had come fully prepared and had not met any serious opposition anywhere so far. His gunner Rumi Khan was with his artillery On 18th *Jumada* II/27th January, he pitched his tents on the bank of the reservoir of Raisen. The Rajputs who wanted to prevent Bahadur Shah from coming near the fort, immediately on his arrival, made a charge in two bodies, but they were repulsed by the sheer numerical superiority of the Gujarati forces which started arriving in quick waves. The Rajputs were forced to take shelter in the fort. Bahadur Shah recalled his soldiers, as he wanted to start the siege next day He was interested first in allowing Rumi Khan to occupy some vantage point from where he would easily bombard the fort. According to the plans on the next day Bahadur Shah commenced the siege, by distributing batteries and surounded the fort from all sides. He also ordered construction of covered passages through which Rumi Khan and his artillery reached a place from where Rumi Khan could use his guns with advantage. Rumi Khan ultimately succeeded in bringing down one of the bastions and also a portion of the fortification walls [2] Silahdi, finding that the fall of the fort of Raisen was only a matter of time, offered to embrace Islam and to hand over the fort himself.[3] Sultan Bahadur welcomed the voluntary offer of Silahdi and personally converted him to his faith and also sent food from his own kitchen to Silahdi It may be pointed out here that if the aim of Bahadur Shah had been only to spread Islam, he would have spared Raisen after the conversion of Silahdi and would have reinstated him in it. But his real motive was not to keep the Malwis in possession of any strong position from where they could at any time defy Gujarat authority The fort of Raisen

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 283
[2] *Ibid*
[3] *Ibid*, p 284.

was strong and, therefore, its demolition was necessary for establishing his authority, whether Silahdi was a Hindu or a Muslim was of secondary consideration and was a matter of pure academic interest to Bahadur Shah.

After his conversion, Silahdi volunteered to go and persuade his brother to surrender the fort The Sultan himself personally accompanied him upto the foot of the fort. Lakshman however asked Silahdi in private to take some time, so as to enable Bhupat who was coming with Rana Bikramajit with a force of forty thousand to arrive. Silahdi then returned and informed the Sultan that the fort would be evacuated next day, but at the stipulated time again came and told Bahadur Shah that if he is permitted, he would go and find out what was happening. The Sultan allowed him to go but under escort. Silahdi told the defenders to be careful because the Sultan would soon attack.[1] Silahdi then returned to the camp of the Sultan. That very night, Lakshman sent two thousand soldiers under the command of a son of Silahdi to bring Bhupat and the Rana as soon as possible. But he was intercepted by Gujarati forces [2] Bahudur Shah suspected Silahdi's hand in this and immediately put him under arrest, and sent him to the fort of Mandu under the custody of *Burhan-ul-Mulk* [3] Bahadur Shah then sent Muhammad Khan of Khandesh and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* to check Bhupat and Rana Bikramajit. Muhammad Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* proceeded by the route of Sarisa and at Kahrar met Puran Mal, another son of Silahdi An indecisive battle was fought, but the two generals became doubtful of success and immediately informed

[1] *T A* III (Tr), p 361 According to Nizam-ud-Din, he said, "Oh ye careless Rajputs ! take note of the Sultan He would immediately come out of the battery, and put you all to death " His object was that they should immediately rebuild the bastions

[2] *T. A* III, p 222 According to *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 284, a younger son of Silahdi made an attack on the camp of the Sultan in Barsiah with two thousand horses, but was defeated and the son fled to Bhupat

Nizam-ud-Din seems to be more correct because there was no sense of making an attack on Bahadur Shah who had definitely a larger force According to Nizam-ud-Din this son was killed and his head was circulated in the camp of Bahadur Shah and Silahdi became unconscious when he heard about it But according to Sikandar, though he escaped and joined his brother Bhupat, rumour spread that the head of Silahadi's son was also there among the severed heads of the Rajputs

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 285, *T A* III, p. 222

Bahadur Shah of it. Bahadur Shah also realised that the situation was becoming serious, so he left Ikhtiyar Khan and others to look after the siege and personally marched towards Kahrar in such a haste that he covered the entire distance of seventy *karoh* in about twenty-four hours. The Rana tried to mediate on behalf of Silahdi, but the offer of the Rana was rejected. This half-hearted help of Rana Bikramajit served no purpose. It did not go beyond giving some encouragement to the *Purbiya* Rajputs in their resistance in the earlier stages of the siege, without yielding any result; but, on the other hand, it provided a ground for Bahadur Shah to attack Chittor.[1] Bahadur Shah's position was further strengthened by the arrival of Ulugh Khan from Gujarat with thirty-six thousand horsemen, elephants and the Gujarat artillery.[2]

The arrival of fresh forces disheartened the Rana as well as Bhupat and they hastily retraced their steps to Chittor Bahadur Shah was greatly annoyed with the Rana for his part but decided first to complete the destruction of Raisen. He, therefore, returned from Kahrar to conduct the siege of Raisen. Lakshman, finding that no help would come from Chittor, realised that resistance would not be possible for long He, therefore, sent a representative by the end of the month of *Ramazan* that if the Sultan could summon Silahdi to his presence and would forgive their offences and give them assurance of their safety, he would evacuate the fort and surrender it to the Sultan

According to Nizam-ud-Din, Bahadur Shah accepted this offer because he realised that in case he refused the Rajputs would perform *Jauhar* and the Muslim women in the fort would also be killed.[3] But the real cause was something else. The siege had already lasted for about four months and he had been absent from his own kingdom of Gujarat for a long time, yet the fall of Raisen was not quite in sight. It seems, therefore, that he now wanted to end the siege as early as possible.

Taking into consideration all these things, he summoned

[1] *T A* III, p 224

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 285 [3] *T A* III (Tr), p 365 "The Sultan, after much consideration, reminded himself that his object in undertaking the expedition was to free the Musalman women from the disgrace of '*Kufr*'. If their (*i e* Lakshman's and Silahdi's) prayer is not acceded to, it is likely, that there should a *Jauhar*, and those helpless women would all be killed Considering all this he granted Lakshman's prayer "

Silahdi from Mandu, and *Burhan-ul-Mulk* arrived in great hurry with Silahdi. After the arrival of Silahdi, Lakshman also came to wait on the Sultan and obtained from him a *farman* granting safety to Silahdi. Lakshman then started the evacuation of the fort under a guard of Gujarati soldiers In the evacuation, the families of other Rajputs were taken out, but his own family, the family of Silahdi, the families of principal Rajputs and also the family of Taj Khan remained in the fort Lakshman again represented that Rani Durgawati, the mother of Bhupat, wished that Silahdi should personally come and take them out of the fort as it would protect them from the taunts of being taken out by strangers. Bahadur Shah failed to understand the real motive and allowed Silahdi to re-enter the fort of course under the escort of Malik 'Ali Sher. However, once Silahdi was inside the fort, a hasty meeting was held and all agreed that they would not surrender the fort without fighting. That Bahadur Shah's attack was considered as a foreign aggression and not a Muslim sovereign conducting a holy war against the infidels is clear from the active participation of Taj Khan According to Nizam-ud-Din, Rani Durgawati and Lakshman and Taj Khan said, "Although the Sultan would show us favour and kindness, still for many generations this country has been in our possession, in reality if not in name, like an empire; and now fate has ordained that we should all be (again) together. The right way of bravery is this, that we should perform *Jauhar* of our women and children, and should ourselves fight and be slain, and there should be no further longing left in our hearts "[1] In spite of Malik 'Ali Sher's counsel, the *Jauhar* was performed in which Rani Durgawati, her daughter-in-law along with seven hundred beautiful women, including Muslim women were devoured by the flames Silahdi, Taj Khan and Lakshman with about hundred soldiers[2] sallied out of the fort and attacked the Dakhani infantry which had gone near the fort. The remaining Gujarati forces hurriedly galloped up to the fort. Silahdi, Taj Khan and Lakshman along with their soldiers fought a desperate and stiff battle and ultimately got killed in the battle-field [3] Thus Raisen was finally captured, either by the end of *Ramazan* or

[1] *T A.* (Tr), p 636

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 437.

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 287.

beginning of *Shawwal* 938 A H [1]/ May, 1532 A.D., after a long struggle

After the conquest of Raisen, Bahadur Shah granted the fort of Raisen along with the territory of Bhilsa to 'Alam Khan[2] Jighat of Kalpi who had come to Bahadur Shah about this time as a fugitive. He also distributed the territory about Islamabad and Hoshangabad in *jagir* to Gujarati *amirs* thereby dispossessing the old Malwi *zamindars* of the region, and to another Gujarati *amir* Alap Khan he granted the fort and regions about Kanur.[3] Bahadur Shah thus finally established Gujarat rule over Malwa. But by his policy of ousting the Malwis from their possessions, he antagonised them and created a dissatisfied element which would easily play into the hands of any person willing to overthrow Bahadur Shah.

THE MUGHAL OCCUPATION OF MALWA

After Bahadur Shah was free from Raisen he turned his attention towards Rana Bikramajit of Chittor. He wanted to chastise him for marching into Malwa with Bhupat for the assistance of Silahdi. Bahadur Shah began with the conquest of such forts as were subsidiary aids to Chittor. Thus Ranthambhor was captured by Rumi Khan, Muhammad Shah of Khandesh occupied Gagraun, and Bahadur Shah followed them at leisure. He finally started the siege of Chittor in February 1533 A D and Rumi Khan again brought in his guns and caused such heavy damage that Rani Karnawati sued for peace and offered to withdraw all claims from such territories of Malwa which had come into the possession of Mewar, and long with the offer she also sent the jewelled crown and belt of Mahmud Khalji II along with ten elephants, one hundred horses and

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 287. According to Sikandar the *Jauhar* was performed in the end of the month of *Ramazan* 938 A H [6th May 1532 A D , *Commissariat* p 228 Commissariat also puts the *Jauhar* on May 6, 1532

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 288, *Firishta*, II, p. 427; *T A* III, p 326 It is said that 'Alam Khan was granted the forts of Raisen and Chanderi along with Bhilsa as *jagir* But Chanderi had been conquered by Babur and had remained with the Mughals How could then Bahadur Shah grant Chanderi to 'Alam Khan ? It seems to be an empty title and may imply that Bahadur Shah gave him the right to recover Chanderi from the Mughals

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 289.

some cash.[1] Bahadur Shah readily accepted the offer and retired. The main reason of Bahadur Shah's retirement was the movement of Humayun, who had come upto Gwalior on receipt of the news of Bahadur's Shah's attack on Chittor and had been closely watching the developments at Chittor. But he sudden withdrawal[2] of Humayun from Gwalior to Agra encouraged Bahadur Shah and he concluded his movement by conquest of Ajmer and Nagore. But Bahadur Shah at this stage was not willing to pick up hostilities with the Mughals, becasuse the impression of the superiority of the Mughal forces seen by him at Panipat still lingered in his mind.[3] He even wanted to establish friendly relations with Humayun and in June 1534 A.D. sent a congratulatory letter to the Mughal Emperor when the latter laid the foundation of the city of *Dinpanah* in Dehli. Humayun also reciprocated by professing amity and goodwill[4] and permitted Bahadur Shah to retain all his late conquests.

CHANGED POLICY OF AND HOSTILITY WITH HUMAYUN

Bahadur Shah, while maintaining a friendly policy with Humayun was always welcoming rebels of the Mughal empire, and thus incurring the displeasure of Humayun. But the peaceful policy of Humayun convinced him of the opinion expressed by Tatar Khan that Babur's veterans had degenerated into ease-loving dandies and, therefore, were no match to Bahadur Shah's invincible Emboldened troops.[5] by the

[1] *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 28 According to *Vir Vinod*, Bahadur Shah returned on the 13th Krishna of Chaitra 1589 V S /27th *Sha'ban* 939 A H /23rd March 1533 A D

[2] The reason of Humayun's sudden withdrawal was the news of serious illness of his mother at Agra.

[3] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p 229, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p. 5

بهادر گفت که من جنگ مغول دیده ام - این سپاه
مقاومت آن جماعت نیست -

[4] *Zafar-ul-walih*, p. 227, *Akbarnama*, 1, p 289

[5] Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 5.

آن مغولانی که حضرت دیده اند، بصرافت خود نمانده
اند، بناز و نعمت پرورده بعیش و تنعم بسر برده، بینش کرده -
اینها را تاب مقاومت سپاه نصرت پناه و بادشاه جوان که هرگز

(*Continued on next page*)

flattery of these Afghan refugees, Bahadur Shah started taking steps leading to complete rupture of good relations. He granted asylum to Muhammad Zaman Mirza,[1] the Mughal rebel and at the same time permitted Tatar Khan to launch an invasion against Agra. He gave him heavy sums[2] for collecting forces from Ranthambhor which was also to serve as his base. Humayun, however, had received reports of Tatar Khan's movements while at Kanar in Kalpi, and postponing his campaigns against Afghans, he hurried towards Agra, having already sent orders to Askari and Himdal to march against any aggression Tatar Khan in the meantime had attacked and occupied Bayana, but the arrival of Askari and Himdal from Dehli forced him to retreat to Mandrail Himdal occupied Bayana and proceeded against Tatar Khan With the prospects of a battle, the Afghan army melted away[3] leaving Tatar Khan with only three thousand soldiers to face Hindal Tatar Khan, however, preferred to fight to the last instead of leading a life of obscurity and disgrace.[4] He was slain with three

(Continued from pre-page)

شکست نخورده و پیروز بوده، نمانده- در هر زمان امثال این کلمات می گفت که عنان تماسک از دست می دهد -

[1] According to Abu Turab, Bahadur Shah welcomed Muhammed Zaman Mirza and gave him rich presents and cash because he expected that being discontented with Humayun he would entice Mughal soldiers to enter into his service Humayun also suspected such a move on the part of Muhammad Zaman Mirza and therefore he wanted that Bahadur Shah should either send him back to Mughal custody or expel him from Gujarat

Akbar Nama, I, p 289 "Muhammad Zaman Mirza did not recognize the kindness with which he had been treated, but got out of prison by presenting a forged order He then fled to Gujarat to Sultan Bahadur Shah "

[2] *T A* III, p 227, *Firishta*, II, p 438, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 12.

[3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 305, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 12, *Akbar Nama*, I, p 298, Abul Fazl says, "when the victorious army drew near the opposing forces, fear fell on the latter and there were desertions, so that it gradually decreased and in brief space dwindled down to 3,000 horses "

[4] *Akbar Nama*, I, p 299, "As Tatar Khan had obtained his army by great importunity and had spent vast sums of money on it, he neither could make up his mind to retire, nor could he make head in war At last he washed his hands of life, and came to an engagement at Mandrail." Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 13; *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 306

hundred of his soldiers in the battle that ensued with the Mughals Humayun, however, did not make the incident a *casus belli* for his attack on Bahadur Shah. Correspondence, however, had been in progress in which Humayun was persistently asking Bahadur Shah at least to drive out Muhammad Zaman Mirza if he was not willing to hand over the fugitive after having granted him shelter. The tone of Bahadur Shah in the course of this correspondence changed in the reply to the fourth letter which was not only extremely rude but also a challenge to Humayun Sikandar[1] puts the blame of this tone and the element of challenge on *Mulla* Muhammad Lari, the scribe, who had earlier served Humayun and bore some grudge against him But it is quite possible that whatever he had written was with the consent of the Sultan, because we find that gradually Bahadur Shah was becoming bolder and worried less about Humayun.

During the course of the correspondence, Humayun, however, was not idle, he had already moved to Gwalior when he heard about Bahadur Shah's second attack on Chittor which was launched in November 1534 While the siege was going on, Humayun moved into Malwa[2] and reached Sarangpur by January 1535 A.D Humayun's march into Malwa caused some anxiety to Bahadur Shah, but he was assured by Sadr Khan[3] one of the prominent *amirs* of Gujarat, that Humayun being a Musalman would not attack him while he was engaged in war against a non-Muslim. Of course, Sadr Khan's calculations proved correct and Bahadur Shah could ultimately conquer the fort of Chittor on 8th March 1535 A D[4] However,

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 304, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, pp 8, 12, *Akbar Nama*, pp 295, 296, for the correspondence between Bahadur Shah and Humayun

[2] Humayun first moved towards Raisen, the people of the fort came forward and submitted to him "In fact as the object in view was the conquest of Gujarat, the army did not delay here, but marched on towards Malwa ', finally encamped at Sarangpur Vide, *Akbar Nama*, I, p 400, *Humayun Nama*, Gul Badan Begum, pp 129, 131 According to Gul Badan Begum, "It was on the 14th of the *Rajab* 941 A H that he (Humayun) quite decided to go himself to Gujarat "

[3] *Akbar Nama* (Tr.), I, p 301, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 13

[4] *Akbar Nama* (Tr), I, p 301, 3rd *Ramazan* 941 /8th March 1535, *Vir Vinod*, II, p 31, *Chaitra Shukla* 5, 1592 V S *Ramazan* 4, 941, March 8th, 1535. Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 13, says Chittor was conquered on 3rd *Ramazan* 942

Bahadur Shah's absence from Malwa gave Humayun freedom to move about in Malwa. Humayun leisurely reached Ujjain by February 1535 A D. Movements of Humayun in Malwa gave the *Purbiya* Rajputs a fresh opportunity to rise against Bahadur Shah, and they unhesitatingly co-operated with Humayun

Bahadur Shah conquered Chittor on March 8, 1535 A D /3rd *Ramazan* 951 A H. and after abandoning the city to plunder for three days Bahadur Shah proclaimed protection of life and property. He then ordered the repair of the damaged fortifications, the mounting of the guns on the bastions and the collection of sufficient provision for one year. The fort was placed under the command of Nassan Khan who was already commandant of the fort of Ranthambhor. Bahadur Shah, by this arrangement, made a double mistake. The denial of the fort of Chittor to Rumi Khan wounded the feelings of this foreign adventurer who now decided to betray him[1]; besides, the guns would not be so effective when handled by Gujaratis who were not well-acquainted with their use. Secondly, by repairing and strengthening the fort Bahadur Shah was only helping the Rajputs who, during the disturbances after Bahadur's defeat at the hands of Humayun, succeeded in recovering the fort and thus got a strengthened and fortified place for themselves

Bahadur Shah soon learnt that Humayun had come to Mandsor, where Bahadur Shah also arrived and two armies pitched their tents. Bahadur Shah, however relying on the advice of Rumi Khan,[2] caused a ditch to be dug round the camp and entrenched himself, and to his dismay, soon discovered that he had by following this policy allowed himself to be besieged by the Mughals Humayun was also able to encircle Bahadur Shah's camp and soon cut off his supplies, causing great distress to the Gujaratis[3]. Bahadur Shah realising that he would not

1 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 307; *Zafar-ul-Walih*, p 239

2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 307, *Akbar Nama* (Tr), I, p 301. According to Abul Fazl, while Humayun was still at Ujjain he received information that Bahadur Shah was coming to meet him, so he also advanced and the two armies encamped at Mandsor on the opposite banks of a lake The advance guard of the Mughals under Bachaka Bahadur and the advance guard of the Gujaratis under Sayyid 'Ali Khan and Mirza Muqim fought an engagement in which the Gujaratis were defeated Bahadur Shah was therefore disheartened and he sought advice.

3 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p. 308, *Akbar Nama* (Tr), I, p 303; Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 14.

be able to hold his position long, decided to escape from the camp Two of the *amirs*, Saiyid 'Ali Khan and Khurasan Khan, had betrayed him in the very beginning of the engagement and now he also came to know of the betrayal of Rumi Khan.[1] Accordingly, one night[2] he left his camp with five of his trusted *amirs* including Mallu Khan and Muhammad Shah of Khandesh and fled towards Mandu [3] Next morning, Humayun occupied the camp of Bahadur Shah [4]

CONQUEST OF MANDU BY HUMAYUM

After the departure of Bahadur Shah from Mandsor, the two Gujarati generals Sadr Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* collected the Gujarati forces numbering fifteen to twenty thousand soldiers, and marched straight to Mandu.[5] Though Humayun followed them he refrained at first from attacking the Gujarati forces. Sadr Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk* reached Mandu by May 1535 A.D. followed by Humayun who halted at Nalcha. Bahadur Shah slipped inside the fort unnoticed later about 19th of May.[6] At Nalcha Humayun was further strengthened by the arrival of Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Hindu Beg and Qasim Hussain Sultan.

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 308

[2] *Akbar Nama* (Tr), I, p. 303. He left on the night of 21st *Shawwal*/ 25th April, 1535 A.D.

[3] Bahadur Shah first moved to north towards Agra and then turned to take the road to Mandu reaching there by 14th *Ziqa'd* (May 17, 1535 A D) Vide, *Akbar Nama*, I (Tr), p. 304, Sikandar gives two dates of Bahadur Shah's departure from his camp at Mandsor, (i) 20th *Ramazan* and (ii) 22nd *Shawwal* 941 A H. Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 309, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 15, says, he left with five persons to the direction of Agra

[4] Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, pp. 1, 2, describes royal enclosure of Bahadur as having a circumference of one mile, whenever he was on the March. The tent cloth consisted of velvet, silk and brocade, the ropes of silken cords and the pegs of gold and silver. No wonder Humayun exclaimed, "why would it not be so, he is the lord of both land and sea " According to Sikandar, Delhi Sultan Sikandar Lodi used to say, "Delhi relies on its wheat and millets for revenue while Gujarat counts upon its corals and pearls " Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, pp 309, 310

[5] Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 15 does not give the number of soldiers. *Akbar Nama* I (Tr), p 303 Abul Fazl says, Sadr Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk Khasakhail* took, with 20,000 horses, the direct road to Mandu while Humayun halted at Nalcha

[6] *Akbar Nama*, I, p. 304 fn. 4, "Rumi Khan deserted the hostile army and entered his Majesty's service and received a robe of honour "

Though Humayun besieged the fort he realised the difficulty of complete siege of a fort so well protected by nature both by its vastness and its great height. Bahadur Shah also found that being completely cut off from his own country *i.e.*, Gujarat, the least he could expect was a prolonged siege. But Bahadur Shah seems to have lost his confidence in his own men, because the fort of Mandu had successfully stood the siege of Ahmad Shah in the past during the reigns of Hoshang Shah and Mahmud Khalji I. Thus when Humayun gave a hint for some understanding, Bahadur Shah readily came forward. Humayun sent Saiyid Amir and Bairam Khan[1] to Bahadur Shah with a proposal that Gujarat should remain with Bahadur Shah, and rest of his territories including Malwa should be surrendered to Humayun. After the initial talks it was decided that both the monarchs should send their representatives to discuss the details who would meet midway between Mandu and Nalcha. Maulana Muhammad Pir 'Ali (Farghali) was sent as representative of Humayun and Sadr Khan came on behalf of Bahadur Shah. Sadr Khan[2] was permitted to take two *Maulvis* with him It was finally agreed that Bahadur Shah was to retain Gujarat and Chittor[3] The acceptance of these terms by Bahadur Shah proved a great blunder on his part, because Humayun seems to have decided not to observe these terms After the conclusion of the agreement Bahadur Shah became complacent and even announced to his soldiers that hostilities would end at day-break. But for Bahadur Shah, the unexpected happened, because towards the end of the night, the Mughals forced their way into the fort. Mallu Khan hastily came forward and informed Bahadur Shah Bahadur Shah collected a few officers among whom Bhupat,[4] Silahdi's son, was also present and made a desperate attack but soon realised that it was all over, and with

[1] Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p. 16

[2] Abu Turab Wali *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, pp 16, 17 The two *Maulvis* were *Shah* Qutb-ud-din Sukrullah and *Shah* Kamal-ud-din Fathullah, father and uncle of Abu Turab Wali, hence the authenticity of his statement

[3] *Akbar Nama*, (Tr) I, p 304, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 17.

It was decided that Bahadur was to evacuate Mandu by the Lowani (Lawani) gate in the west and Humayun would enter by the Dehli gate in the north.

[4] According to Sikandar, Bhupat at the instigation of Rumi Khan opened the gate and kept himself aloof which permitted the Mughals to enter the fort *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 311 Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 18, however, does not attribute any treachery to Bhupat

the arrival of Humayun the Mughals were the master of the situation. Bahadur Shah then retreated to Songarh, the citadel of the fort of Mandu, but realising that resistance was out of the question, he made discretion the better part of valour. He let himself, some of his horses and five or six of his followers down from the steep rampart of Songarh by means of ropes, and took the road to Gujarat.[1] After the departure of Bahadur Shah, Sadr Khan continued the resistance at the Dehli gate and when he was dislodged he retreated to Songarh where soon after 'Alam Khan also joined him. The resistance offered by the garrison of Mandu so much enraged Humayun that he gave orders for a massacre in the fort, which continued for three days.[2] The credit of appeasing Humayun and pacifying his wrath goes to Manjhu, the musician of Gujarat, who successfully moved the softer elements in Humayun who thereupon gave the signal by putting on the green dress [3] The immediate effect of terrorising the garrison, however, was that Humayun's authority was established in the fort and Sadr Khan, 'Alam Khan and Jam Firuz surrendered to Humayun Though the life of 'Alam Khan was spared he was hamstrung and disabled for life. Sadr Khan and Jam Firuz were pardoned, but were kept under surveillance; they too gave their word of honour not to leave the Mughal[4] Camp. Thus by the middle of 1535 A.D. Humayun was in full possession of Mandu But as Bahadur Shah had taken shelter in Champaner, Humayun followed him there and as he entered the city Bahadur Shah fled to Cambay. Soon after Humayun too marched to Cambay via Ahmedabad [5] But by now Bahadur Shah was so much reduced that he realised

[1] *Akbar Nama*, (Tr.), I, p 305 Abul Fazl says, "An Uzbek named Buri who had become a servant of Qasim Hussain Khan, recognised the Sultan and informed the Khan. But the latter owing to his length of service with Bahadur Shah, treated what he heard as unheard and so Bahadur Shah carried off half-a-life into safety, and was joined by 1,500 men by the time he reached Champaner." Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 18

[2] *Akbar Nama* (Tr) I, p. 306. [3] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 312

[4] Sadr Khan was an honest, brave and God-fearing soldier. He kept his word, and during the attack on Mughal Camp at Cambay attempts were made to release him, but he refused to leave the Mughal camp The guards, however, became apprehensive and put to death both Sadr Khan and Jam Firuz Humayun was greatly aggrieved when he received this news and inflicted capital punishment on the murderers

[5] *Humayun Nama*, Gul Badan Begum, p. 132.

the futility of offering resistance. He, therefore, after destroying the fleet of 100 warships, escaped to the island of Diu, where subsequently he signed a treaty with Nuno da Cunha on October 25th, 1535 A.D by which it was agreed that in return for Bassein, the Portuguese would help him on land and sea against the Mughals and Rumi Khan [1]

END OF MUGHAL OCCUPATION OF MALWA

Humayun returned from Cambay to Champaner on 29th *Zilhijja* 941 A.H /1st July 1535 A D. and concentrated on the capture of the fort of Champaner which had been kept in a state of siege during the period The fort was conquered on Friday 6th *Safar* 942 A H.[2]/August 6, 1535 A D. Thus in the course of a campaign lasting a few months,[3] Humayun had succeeded in acquiring Malwa and Central Gujarat. Humayun then occupied Ahmedabad,[4] and made it the headquarters of the province which was placed under the vice-royalty of Mirza Askari with Hindu Beg as his adviser. Humayun also posted[5] Yadgar Nasir Mirza in Patan, Qasim Husain Khan in Broach, Surat and Navasari, Dost Beg Ishaq in Baroda and Cambay and Tardi Beg in Champaner After the settlement of Gujarat Humayun turned towards Malwa, where, taking advantage of his absence, local elements had organised resistance against the

[1] Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol I, pp 406, 407 & 408 According to Danvers "the presence of the Portuguese at Diu also prevented King Humayun from attacking that place as he had intended to have done "

[2] *Akbar Nama*, p 138, has first week of *Safar* 942, Tr. I, p 312, Beveridge in fn. 2 says, "The text has Mah, but unless we read *Mah* the 'abjad' seems to be incorrect being 942 instead of 943 " Beveridge, however, is wrong, the incident took place in 942 A.H and not 943 A H *Badayun*, I, p 455 has 9th *Safar* 942. *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 24 Friday of 1st week of *Safar* 942 falls on 6th and not on 9th hence 6th *Safar* seems to be more correct

و صبح جمعه بود که این قیامت کبریٰ بر اهل قلعه واقع شد۔

[3] Humayun had reached Sarangpur some time in January 1535 A.D

[4] Humayun had to face resistance at Ahmedabad, where Mirza Askari would have been repulsed by *'Imad-ul-Mulk*, had not the situation been saved by the timely arrival of Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Hindu Beg and Qasim Husain Khan

[5] According to *Humayun Nama*, p 192, "Ahmedabad he bestowed on Mirza Askari, Bahruch on Qasim Husain Sultan and Patan on Yadgar Nasir Mirza " Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, pp 28, 29

Mughals. Mallu Khan of Mandu, Mu'in Sikandar Khan of Satwas and Mihtar Zambur of Handia had combined their resources and attacked Ujjain which was held for Humayun by Darwesh 'Ali. When Humayun returned, Ujjain had already been lost, the commandant having been killed, the survivors had evacuated the place and were retreating towards Humayun. Humayun's timely arrival, however, saved the situation from becoming worse.[1] Humayun set up his headquarters at Mandu and as a mark of his proposed indefinite stay in Malwa, he summoned his seraglio from Agra.

Humayun's personal stay in Malwa, no doubt for the time being resulted in the disappearance of the resistance of the Malwis, but Humayun took no concrete measures for establishing an administration in the country. It seems that Humayun became too engrossed with the scenic beauty of Mandu and could not keep himself aloof from the contagion of opium[2] so common with the Malwis.[3] However, Humayun was not destined to enjoy the peace of Mandu for long. He soon learnt that Mirza Askari having mismanaged the affairs of Gujarat had disgraced himself Bahadur Shah's officers had practically rolled them up Mirza Askari even gave vent to his feeling of establishing an independent kingdom Such a condition had encouraged Bahadur Shah to return from Diu and occupy the territories evacuated by the Mughal officers Askari Mirza, finding that a fight with Bahadur Shah was imminent, had tried to secure treasure from Champaner which Tardi Beg refused to give him, and finally finding that Tardi Beg was not favourably disposed[4] towards him, he started for Agra leaving Gujarat to its own fate Mirza Askari's march towards Agra compelled Humayun also to move out of Malwa[5] so as to forestall him,

[1] *Akbar Nama*, I, p 142

[2] *Humayun Nama*, p 131 To the complaints of Bega Begum about his neglect of the Begums, Humayun asked for their indulgence for his being an opium-eater

[3] For common use of opium in Malwa, see *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p 207, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p 53

[4] Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 31.

[5] *Humayan Nama*, p 133, "Mirza Askari's people left Ahmedabad and came to the Emperor They represented to him that Mirza Askari and Yadgar Nasir Mirza had conspired and wished to go to Agra On hearing this, he himself was forced to go, he left the important affairs

(*Continued on next page*)

lest Askari might not create disaffection in Agra too. Of course, Humayun overtook Askari at Chittor where a reconciliation took place between the brothers and they together proceeded to Agra.

So far as Malwa was concerned, Humayun had practically evacuated the kingdom He had left neither garrison nor governor behind him. Thus after an occupation of about one year, the Mughals evacuated the country and the events were allowed to take their own course

MALWA REGAINS INDEPENDENCE

Humayun's stay in Malwa proved nothing better than a military occupation, and after his departure he left no administrative organisation of Mughal governors except some Mughal military officers who had been granted *jagirs* in Malwa.[1] Nevertheless, by his activities against Bahadur Shah, Humayun considerably weakened Gujarat; and after his departure, Bahadur Shah had to devote his time to re-organise his kingdom and at the same time keep an eye on the activities of the Portuguese. Bahadur Shah, therefore, could not pay full attention to Malwa However, Bahadur Shah maintained his nominal hold by appointing Mallu Khan in Mandu[2] and Muhammad Miran Shah *Asiri* to the over-all charge of Malwa, whom we find in Ujjain in 943 A H /1536-37 A D. at the death of Bahadur Shah.[3] Though Mallu Khan was one of the *Khanzadas* of the rulers of Malwa he had joined Bahadur Shah at the time of his accession and had remained loyal to him. He had rendered valuable service to him both at Mandsor and during the siege of Mandu by Humayun. During the Mughal invasion and occupation, Bahadur Shah appointed Mallu Khan in Malwa, and had kept Langar Khan, son of Mallu Khan, by his side[4] probably as a surety for the conduct of Mallu Khan.

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of Gujarat and turned away and went to Agra Here he spent as much as a year,' Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 32 says, Tardi Beg informed Humayun that Askari Mirza and Hindu Beg and other Mirzas had left for Agra to create trouble

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 532 Firishta says, Mallu Khan took the title of Qadir Shah and occupied the country of Malwa from Bhilsa to the river Narbada by driving out the Chagtai forces within a period of one year

[2] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 323

[3] *Ibid* [4] *Ibid*, p 337

INDEPENDENCE OF MALLU KHAN AS QADIR SHAH

The death of Bahadur Shah on 3rd *Ramazan* 943 A.H [1]/ 13-2-1537 A D created a void in Gujarat politics. The nobles in Gujarat were not united and to make matters worse, Muhammad Zaman Mirza just then returned from the Punjab and put forth his claims for the crown of Gujarat.[2] The arrival and movements of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, however, united the Gujaratis for the time being, and while they organised opposition to the Mirza, they also sent an invitation to Muhammad Miran Shah of Khandesh who was a nephew of Sultan Bahadur Shah. As if to settle the issue at once, they caused the *Khutba* to be read and coins struck in the name of Muhammad Shah while he was absent from Gujarat. Though Muhammad Shah at once started for Gujarat he died on his way, after about a month and a half from the time of the reading of the *Khutba* [3] After the death of Muhammad Shah, the Gujarati nobles brought Mahmud Khan son of Latif Khan from Burhanpur and placed him on the throne of Gujarat on 10th *Zilhijja* 943 A H./20-5-1537 A.D As Ikhtiyar Khan Gujarati had been instrumental in raising Mahmud Shah to the throne, he became most powerful. But the ascendancy of Ikhtiyar Khan aroused the jealousy of Darya Khan and *'Imad-ul-Mulk*,[4] with the result that Ikhtiyar Khan was put to death by their combined effort.

After removing Ikhtiyar Khan, the two nobles divided power

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 322, *T A* III, p 234, *Firishta*, II, p 443

[2] The activities of Muhammad Zaman Mirza are variously given by different authorities According to Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta, Muhammad Zaman Mirza posed before the ladies that he was greatly affected by the death of Bahadur Shah, but decamped with 700 chests of gold and collected a force of 13,000 horsemen Vide, *T A* III, p 235, *Firshta*, II, p 443 Sikandar and Abu Turab Wali say that he tried to capture the throne of Gujarat While Sikandar does not mention the *Khutba*, Abu Turab Wali says he caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name in Diu Sikandar says that Muhammad Zaman Mirza urged the ladies that they should adopt him as a son and help him, but the ladies informed him that in Gujarat the ladies have never interfered in politics, and the question of Sultan's successor is settled by the ministers Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 324, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 30

[3] *T A* III, p 235

[4] *'Imad-ul-Mulk* had driven Muhammad Zaman Mirza out of Gujarat Vide, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 40

between themselves.[1] '*Imad-ul-Mulk* was anxious to have his supporters and for this purpose, he thought of securing the allegiance of Mallu Khan, who after the departure of Muhammad Miran Shah had slowly established himself as the most powerful among the nobles in Malwa. '*Imad-ul-Mulk*, during his *wizarat*, sent on behalf of Sultan Mahmud Shah,[2] a canopy with the title of Qadir Shah and the right of striking coins to Mallu Khan Thus Mallu Khan became ruler of Malwa with the title of Qadir Shah and struck coins and caused the *Khutba* to be read in his own name.

MALWA UNDER QADIR SHAH

Qadir Shah proved himself a successful ruler. He tried to appease all the old *amirs* of Malwa and very soon restored peace and order in the country. He tried to reconcile the Rajputs and gained their allegiance by allowing Bhupat and Puranmal, the sons of Silahdi, to re-occupy the fort of Raisen. Bhupat and Puranmal accepted the suzerainty of Qadir Shah and offered their allegiance to him[3] The *zamindars* of the surrounding country offered their allegiance to him and sent tribute to him every year.[4]

Qadir Shah proved to be a prudent ruler, and he successfully prevented Malwa from being drawn into the vortex of the dispute that was going on in Gujarat between '*Imad-ul-Mulk* and Darya Khan. After the defeat of Mubarak Miran Shah of Burhanpur, when '*Imad-ul-Mulk* came as a fugitive to Mandu,[5] Qadir Shah gave him shelter and thereby proved that he was not ungrateful to his former benefactor. But when Darya Khan

1 *T A* III, p 236 According to Nizam-ud-Din, '*Imad-ul-Mulk* became *Amir-ul-Umra*, and Darya Khan became the *wazir*, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 41, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 329. '*Imad-ul-Mulk* was appointed as *wazir* by Mahmud Shah II

2 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 337

3 *Firishta*, II, p 532, Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p 250 fn opines, "Nizam-ud-Din commits a mistake here Bhupat was killed in the battle of Kanwa in 1527 A D Babur mentions him among the Hindu chiefs slain in that battle It was Bhupat's minor son Pratap whom his uncle Puranmal brought with him " Prof Qanungo is misled by the statement of Babur Bhupat was not killed in the battle of Kanwa, we find him defending Mandu against Humayun on behalf of Bahadur Shah, which is mentioned by Sikandar as well as Abu Turab Wali Vide, *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 311, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 18.

4 *T A*. III, p. 411

5 *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 332, Abu Turab Wali, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat*, p 42

demanded on behalf of Mahmud Shah the surrender of *'Imad-ul-Mulk*, he did not want to offend the Gujarati Sultan, but sent him a very polite letter pleading for *'Imad-ul-Mulk*, thereby he saved Malwa from an invasion of Mahmud Shah and Darya Khan and at the same time protected *'Imad-ul-Mulk* from falling into the clutches of Darya Khan

ATTITUDE OF SHER SHAH TOWARDS MALWA

While Qadir Shah was still busy in consolidating the kingdom of Malwa and repairing the damages caused by the activities of Bahadur Shah and Humayun, he had to face a new menace from the north. Sher Khan after his victory at Chausa, had enthroned himself in 946 A H [2]/1539-40 A.D., his coronation having taken place in Bengal But Sher Shah could not consider himself the real master of Hindustan unless he drove Humayun out of the country He therefore wanted to enlist the support[3] of the chiefs of Malwa and Gujarat. In pursuance of such a policy he sent 'Isa Khan in January 1540 A D with a *farman* the purport of which according to Nizam-ud-Din was that "as the Mughals have come into the country of Bangala, I pray that following the path of sincerity you should either yourself advance towards Agra, or sending an army create a disturbance in the neighbourhood of that city so that the Mughals might return from this country "[4] This *farman* of Sher Shah, however, placed Qadir Shah in a predicament, because if he acted as desired in the *farman* he would not only be involving himself unnecessarily in the affairs of the Mughals, but would also be accepting the over-lordship of Sher Shah.[5] Qadir Shah was

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, p 337

[2] *Tarikh-i-Da'udi*, p 216, Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p 208, gives the date as beginning of December, 1539 A D

[3] Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p 209, Qanungo says, "The object of the mission was to induce the rulers of these countries to create a diversion in favour of Sher Shah by attacking the imperial territories about Agra, in cooperation with an Afghan army under his son Qutb Khan whom he had decided to send to Malwa for that purpose "

[4] *T A* III (Tr), p 618, *Tarikh-i-Shershahi*, (*Elliot*, IV, S G p 94)

[5] In the *'farman'* sent to equals the normal practice was to put the seal at the back of the epistle, when addressed to an inferior the seal was at the top and when addressed to a superior it was at the bottom Sher Shah had affixed his seal at the top and thus Qadir Shah was perfectly justified in resenting it According to Nizam-ud-Din, Qadir Shah said, "If he does not observe the rule of courtesy it is not necessary that I should show honour to him " Vide, *T.A* III (Tr), p 618

prepared for neither, and not only rejected the request of Sher Shah but asserted his own position by sending an identical *farman* in reply to Sher Shah.

While the reply of Qadir Shah was still on its way, Sher Shah sent his son Qutb Khan to proceed to Malwa via Kalpi with a view to combine with the forces of the place and thence to attack Agra. Qutb Khan, however, came to know about the hostile attitude of the Malwa ruler while he was in the vicinity of Chanderi. He, therefore, turned from there towards Kalpi, only to find himself opposed by the Mughal forces. Instead of retracing his steps he offered battle and was killed.[2] To Sher Shah the death of Qutb Khan appeared to be the result of the hostile attitude of the Malwa ruler To add to this, when Sher Shah received the reply of Qadir Shah he was convinced that nothing short of military operations would establish his authority over Malwa

Qadir Shah, however, in sending the reply with his seal at the top had not correctly judged the personality of Sher Shah He completely failed to realise that after Chausa the political power of northern India had passed into the hands of Sher Shah But Qadir Shah was not immediately disturbed and passed about two more years—a period which was spent by Sher Shah in consolidating his position in the north. Though Shuja'at Khan was ordered to march upon Gwalior, Sher Shah's orders were that he was to watch the movement of the chiefs of Malwa but by no means to enter into hostility with them.

It was in the beginning of *Muharram* 949 A.H./April, 1542 A D. that Sher Shah started for Malwa, and after receiving the keys of the fort of Gwalior from 'Abdul Qasim Beg, he reached Gagraun where Puranmal of Raisen came with an escort of 6,000 Rajputs and waited upon him Sher Shah permitted him to return to Raisen.[3] The obvious reason for Sher Shah to conciliate Puranmal was, that while he was marching against Qadir Shah he did not want the Rajputs of Malwa to combine with him. As for Puranmal, he too failed to understand Sher Shah's intentions and soon had to pay the price for it.

From Gagraun Sher Shah marched towards Sarangpur The news of Sher Shah's approach at once unnerved Qadir Shah,

1 Abbas Sarwani, *Tarikh-i-Shershahi*, (*Elliot*, IV, S G p 95)

2 *Ibid*, p 96 Abbas says the battle took place at Chondha

3 *Elliot*, IV, p 392

who acting upon the advice of Saif Khan came straight from Ujjain and waited upon Sher Shah at Sarangpur.[1] Though Sher Shah welcomed Qadir Shah and bestowed upon him a red pavilion and an audience tent, a special bedstead, a sleeping robe, and articles for his wardrobe, he gave hints to Shuja'at Khan to keep special watch over Qadir Shah. Sher Shah then moved to Ujjain. Malwa was thus subjugated by Sher Shah without shedding blood. But Sher Shah's policy of transferring Qadir Shah from Malwa to Bengal was not destined to succeed [2]

Though late, but correctly did Qadir Shah read the character of Sher Shah, for whom treachery was only a synonym for diplomacy. Being apprehensive of the motives[3] of Sher Shah, Qadir Shah one night escaped from the camp and fled towards Gujarat. Shuja'at Khan was sent in pursuit of the fugitive with a large army, but Qadir Shah managed to cross into Gujarat and Shuja'at Khan had to return without success The departure of Qadir Shah however sealed the fate of Mu'in Khan Satwasi [4] Sher Shah ordered his immediate imprisonment

Sher Shah then made fresh administrative arrangements and appointed Shuja'at Khan over Handia and Satwas and Haji Khan and Junaid Khan over Mandu and Dhar Being satisfied with these arrangements, Sher Shah turned north and marched towards the fort of Ranthambhor. Thus for the second time Malwa lost its freedom and except for Raisen the rest of Malwa was occupied by Afghan officers.

Qadir Shah and Nasir Khan made one more effort to regain their lost territories, but instead of making a combined

[1] *T.A* III, p 413

[2] *Ibid*, p 413, (Tr p 620) According to Nizam-ud-Din, "One day he was going from his residence to wait upon Sher Khan, when he saw, on the way, that a number of Mughals of Gwalior were engaged in cutting earth with their spades, and working the earth in properly constructing the bastions of the fort which, Sher Khan's officers always built round his camp Mallu Khan considered in his mind, "If I accompany Sher Khan, he will of course order me to do similar earth work", and he determined on flight, and was engaged in thinking how he should manage it" *Elliot*, IV, p 394

[3] Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p 258 Qanungo says, "His policy of removing Mallu Khan from Mandu to Bengal does great credit to his statecraft Herein he foreshadowed the wise and humane policy of Akbar towards dethroned sovereigns"

[4] *T A* III, p 314, has Sikandar Khan. But Sikandar Khan had died earlier and had been succeeded by his adopted son Mu'in Khan.

effort they made independent attacks on Shuja'at Khan with the result that both of them were defeated one after the other, and Shuja'at Khan retained his hold over Malwa

AFGHAN OCCUPATION OF RAISEN

Sher Shah in the first instance had accepted the submission of Puranmal and had allowed him to continue in Raisen But Sher Shah knew that unless he took the fort of Raisen and crushed the power of the Rajputs in eastern Malwa, his conquest of Malwa would remain incomplete He, therefore, in the end of 949 A H [2]/March 1543 A D , marched against Raisen.

Puranmal on his part seems to have realised, after his return from Gagraun and the subsequent activities of Sher Shah in Malwa, that it would not be long before he too would have to face Sher Shah. Puranmal, therefore, had taken all possible measures to strengthen the fortification of Raisen. Thus when Sher Shah came and besieged Raisen he realised that conquest by assault was a difficult task. The siege lasted for about four months[3] and several heavy cannons had to be cast and the fort was bombarded from all sides Puranmal offered terms of peace which were accepted by Sher Shah, but in the end when amnesty had been granted to Puranmal and he had evacuated the fort, the Afghan soldiers attacked him at dawn "The Rajputs having been appraised of the situation, prepared for *Jauhar* With fire and sword they destroyed their wives and children Their minds thus relieved of all earthly concerns, they charged the enemy with all the fury of despair and died fighting to a man."[4] Sher Shah thus came in possession of the fort of Raisen, but his conduct in allowing the massacre of Puranmal and the

[1] The original name of Shuja'at Khan was Shaikh Isma'il and like Sher Shah he was also a Sur Afghan He joined Sher Shah (then Farid Khan) at Kanpur when Farid Khan was going to Agra in A D 1518, after his removal from his father's *jagirs* In A.D. 1429, Shaikh Isma'il showed extraordinary valour, and killed Qutb Khan the commander of the Bengali army of Nusrat Shah, which had marched into Bihar. After the victory thus gained Sher Khan has bestowed on Shaikh Isma'il the title of Shuja'at Khan *Elliot*, IV, p 321

[2] *Elliot*, IV, pp. 397, 404, fn 1; Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p 283, *Badayuni*, I, 476

[3] Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 290.

[4] *Ibid* , p. 297 Qanungo has described the conquest of Raisen and last *Jauhar* of Puranmal quite at length.

Rajputs after they had been granted a safe passage can have no justification whatsoever.[1]

After conquest of Raisen when Sher Shah returned he made Shuja'at Khan over-all in charge of Malwa. Shuja'at Khan however had to face some opposition from Islam Shah Sur who succeeded Sher Shah after his death from accident while capturing the fort of Kalinjar on 10th *Rabi'* I, 952 A.H./22-5-1545 A.D. The hostility of Islam Shah finally culminated in a temporary removal of Shuja'at Khan from the governorship of Malwa. But Shuja'at Khan proved his loyalty towards the house of the Surs by withdrawing into Banswal.[2] 'Isa Khan was appointed governor of Malwa. Though Shuja'at Khan had power and necessary force to attack 'Isa Khan, he refrained from any act of violence. After some time Shuja'at Khan was pardoned by Islam Shah on the recommendation of Daulat Khan Ajiyala, who was an adopted son of Shuja'at Khan and a favourite of Islam Shah. Shuja'at Khan was given in *jagir* the territory of Sarangpur and Raisen

While Shuja'at Khan looked after his *jagir* of Sarangpur and Raisen, Sur Empire was facing constant trouble caused by the rebellion of the Afghan chiefs. The death of Islam Shah (961 A.H./A.D 1553-54) and accession of Mubariz Khan under the title Muhammad Shah Adil or Adali proved a turning point in the fortune of Shuja'at Khan. The new Sultan appointed him governor of Malwa or as Nizam-ud-Din says, "conferred the entire country of Malwa permanently on him."[3] Shuja'at Khan made fresh arrangements for the administration of Malwa and placed Daulat Khan Ajiyala in Ujjain and its territories, Malik Mustafa, his youngest son, in Raisen and Bhilsa, Miyan Bayazid in Handia and Ashta and himself took up his seat at Sarangpur.[4] It may be pointed out here that with the

[1] Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 299 Qanungo writes, "However, no historian will maintain that Sher Shah was incapable of treachery and perfidy—which are clearly brought to light in the case of Bibi Fath Malika and the capture of Rohtas But the imputation of the same charge in the affair of Raisen is not historically true Even if Sher Shah's acts were one of barefaced treachery, the historian, in all fairness and justice, can only say that he was not above the morals of his age."

[2] *TA* III, p 420, (Tr), p 627, has Banswala I think it is Bansva in the west of Malwa

[3] *TA* III, (Tr), p 628

[4] *Firishta*, II, p 537.

occupation of Malwa by the Afghans, Shadiabad Mandu considerably lost its importance and Sarangpur became the seat of government. Shuja'at Khan managed the government well and Malwa witnessed some peace under him But the hard life now began to tell on his health and he died in 962 A.H./ A.D. 1554-55 Shuja'at Khan had at the last stage become independent[1] because with the return of Humayun he felt no obligation towards the ruler of Dehli.

BAZ BAHADUR ASSUMES SOVEREIGNTY

The death of Shuja'at Khan was immediately followed by a scramble for power among his sons. Miyan Bayazid proved more energetic and ambitious He at once moved to Sarangpur and took possession of all his father's property and retainers. But Miyan Bayazid's rival was Daulat Khan Ajiyala, who enjoyed a reputation for his close association with Islam Shah and had also been a favourite of Shuja'at Khan. The Afghans too wanted him to succeed Shuja'at Khan But these Afghans were no match to the sharp brain of Bayazid, with the result that they were soon brought to bay by the latter. Bayazid started negotiations and through his mother pacified Daulat Khan It was agreed[2] that Daulat Khan should be in possession of the sarkars of Ujjain and Mandu and adjacent territories, that Bayazid should have Sarangpur and the *Khalsa mahals* of Shuja'at Khan along with his former *jagir* of Handia and Kotli Birah as well as Bhilwara and Malik Mustafa should remain in possession of Raisen and Bhilsa along with its adjacent *mahals*

The arrangement thus settled was a fair one and all seemed to have been satisfied But the rivals of Bayazid had failed to perceive his real aim They became complacent and did not watch the movements of Bayazid Khan Bayazid caught them unawares He suddenly attacked Ujjain and killed Daulat Khan. The severed head of Daulat Khan was sent to Sarangpur and

1 *Haft Gulshan*, fol 133b Ghulam Hadi says

بعد از آن که در دهلی ملوک طوائف بهم رسیدند ،
او هم در آن ولایت خطبه و سکهٔ خود جاری کرد ـ

Firishta, II, p 537, *Briggs*, IV, p 275; *C H I*, III, p. 371
2 *T A* III, p 421, *Firishta*, II, pp 537, 538

was suspended from one of the gates The removal of Daulat Khan made matter easy for Bayazid and he assumed royalty and took the title of Baz Bahadur Shah.

Baz Bahadur then attacked Raisen, Malik Mustafa offered a stiff resistance but was ultimately defeated and fled[1] away from Malwa. Baz Bahadur appointed his own men in Raisen From Raisen he proceeded to Kadrula which was inhabited by a band of Afghans who had refused to recognise[2] the sovereignty of Baz Bahadur After punishing these Afghans and making fresh arrangements for Kadrula, Baz Bahadur returned to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur's military activity came to an end with his attempt to establish his authority over Garha, which was then under the able rule of Rani Durgawati Baz Bahadur was badly defeated by the Gonds and though he escaped with his life, most of his best generals were killed and his camp and baggage fell into the hands of Rani Durgawati Either because of the shame for being defeated by a woman[3] or because of the heavy military loss Baz Bahadur gave up further military exploits, though he took care to repair the damages and losses in his army

MALWA UNDER BAZ BAHADUR

With Baz Bahadur's discontinuation of military activity Malwa witnessed comparative peace. Baz Bahadur started devoting most of his time to music and cultivation of finer tastes. His deep attachment to Rupmati, though gained a notoriety, indeed produced an effect of far-reaching consequence, and has almost taken a legendry shape quite popular in Malwa In his devotion to cultural pursuits Baz Bahadur removed all religious bias, and the process of cultural assimilation which had started with the foundation of the independent kingdom of Malwa reached its culmination under Baz Bahadur. While assessing the contribution of Baz Bahadur to the culture of Malwa, Archer writes, "We meet, in fact, a character in whom the twin cultures of Malwa are entangled and whose great romances, his passion for Rupmati is itself a blending of Muslim and Hindu."[4]

[1] Malik Mustafa later was appointed to accompany Raja Bir Bal and Hakim Abul Fath in the Yusuf Zai expedition and was killed there Vide, *T A* III, p 420, fn. 3

[2] *Firishta*, II, p 538, *T A* III, p. 422.

[3] *Firishta*, II, p 538

[4] W G Archer, *Central India Painting*, p 4

Politically viewed, Malwa, however, became a nonentity With her monarch wholly engrossed in cultivating the finer tastes, the oppressive hand of the *jagirdars* and officers must have fallen heavily on the common people for whom there was no redress While Malwa was passing through such a condition the attention of the Mughal Emperor Akbar was drawn towards it

INCORPORATION OF MALWA AS A MUGHAL SUBAH

In the sixth year of his reign, when the Mughal rule was firmly established in the northern territories, Akbar thought of the conquest of the adjacent countries According to his wishes on 24th *Jumada* II[1] 968 A H /12th March 1561 A D , armies were sent towards Malwa where Baz Bahadur still ruled, though his sway was confined to a comparatively small territory. Akbar could have no justification for this unprovoked war except that Humayun had once conquered this territory and that it had also formed a part of Sher Shah's empire. According to 'Abul Fazl, however, the cause of conquest of Malwa was, Akbar's desire to relieve the people from injustice and oppression of Baz Bahadur. But we have seen Baz Bahadur had caused no injustice nor perpetrated any oppression, while the sufferings of the people, subsequent to the conquest, and during the regime of Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad were beyond calculation — a fact which 'Abul Fazl himself has accepted The suggestion of Mu'tamid Khan[2] that Baz Bahadur who was an important king did not submit to Akbar, indicates that the real cause of Akbar's attack was simply a process of territorial aggrandisement Though Baz Bahadur is said to have been devoting his time to the pleasures of his *harem* at the cost of state affairs, Akbar sent a formidable army against him The Mughal army included such generals as Pir Muhammad Khan, Abdullah Khan, Qiya Khan Kang, Shah Muhammad Khan 'Qandhari, Adil Khan and his son, Sadiq Khan, Habib Quli Khan, Haidar 'Ali Khan, Muhammad Quli Toqbai, Qiya Khan, Mirak Bahadur, Samanji Khan, Payanda Muhammad Khan Moghal, Muhammad Khwaja Kushtigir,

1 *Akbar Nama*, II, p 210, date given is March 10, 1561, *MKINJ*, pp 165, 166 Mu'tamid Khan says, the sixth year started from 23rd *Jumada* II, 968 H

2 *MKINJ*, p 166

Mihr 'Ali Silduz, Miran Arghun, Shah Fani and other heroes The command of the army was given to Adham Khan [1] The Mughal army marched into Malwa in regular formations with Pir Muhammad and Adham in the centre, the right wing and the left wing under the commands of 'Abdullah Khan and Qiya Khan Kang respectively, while the vanguard was placed under Muhammad Khan Qandhari and Sadiq Khan [2] The Mughal army marched to Sarangpur without facing any opposition When Baz Bahadur, who resided at Sarangpur, received information of the approach of the Mughals, he immediately came out of Sarangpur and advancing three *kos* from the city, pitched his tents and entrenched himself Baz Bahadur also arranged his army,[3] with himself in the centre, on the right he placed Salim Khan *Khasa Khel* who was governor of Raisen and Chanderi, and the left he placed under the command of Adam Khan, his maternal uncle; and the vanguard he placed under Taj Khan *Khasa Khel* and Sufi [4] "The armies faced one another at the distance of two or three *kos*, and the brave on both sides were continually coming out and encountering"[5] The Mughals soon started preventing all supplies from reaching the camp of Baz Bahadur A body of troops under the command of some officer would go round the camp of the Malwis and intercept whatever would be coming to them

One day Shah Muhammad, Muhammad Qandhari, Sadiq Khan, Payanda Khan, Mughal Shah Fani, Mihr 'Ali Silduz, Samanji Khan and Muhammad Khwaja Kushtigir, whose turn it was to harass the Malwi forces, came very near the Malwi camp and were involved in an engagement The news of this engagement immediately reached the Mughal camp and the entire army attacked the Malwa forces. In spite of extreme bravery of Adham Khan, by mid-day the Malwa forces were routed, and Baz Bahadur hastily retreated towards Khandesh.

Baz Bahadur had left instructions to his palace guards before

[1] *Akbar Nama*, II, p 208; *MKINJ*, p 166

[2] *Akbar Nama*, II, p 211.

[3] *The Lady of the Lotus*, p 51, Crump writes, "Adham Khan came, and he came like a storm of wind and rain There was no time to set the affairs of the kingdom in order not to keep its frontiers inviolate from the assaults of the enemy Bazid Khan, however, collected his following small though it was, and drew up his army in battle array"

[4] *MKINJ*, p 166. [5] *Akbar Nama*, II, p 212

leaving for the battlefield, that if he was defeated they were to kill all the female inmates of his *harem*.[1] When the news of his defeat reached, the servants, in compliance with the orders, started killing the inmates, but before they could complete their task the victorious Mughal army entered the city and took possession of the palace "All his goods and chattels, his seraglio, and his singing and dancing women, who were materials of his pleasures and decorations of his life, fell into the hands of the victors"[2] The attendant of Rupmati, finding that no escape was possible inflicted some wounds on her but before she could be killed she was rescued Adham Khan who had heard the praises of Baz Bahadur's collection of beauties,[3] hastily arrived and took possession of the *harem* as well as the treasure, buried or otherwise When Adham Khan wanted to possess Rupmati and she found that she was helpless she saved her honour by taking a cup of poison[4]

[1] In Malwa it had become a regular practice for the Muslims who had adopted the Rajput practice of *Jauhar* in this form. *A N* II, 213, *MKNJ*, p 167

[2] *A N* II, p 213

[3] *A N* II, p 213 Abul Fazl says, "Adham Khan came in all haste and excitement to Sarangpur to seize the buried and other trasures, and the seraglio with its singers and dancers whose beauty and melody were celebrated throughout the world, and whose heart-ravishing charms were sung of in the streets and markets"

[4] So in *A N* II, p 214, but Mu'tamid Khan gives a slightly more detailed account According to him, Adham Khan wanted to possess Rupmati in his *harem*, but as she was severely wounded, she requested him to send her to the house of Shaikh 'Umar, to be looked after by his family Rupmati had great respect for Shaikh 'Umar But when she recovered, she had no pretence to refuse Adham Khan She, therefore, asked Adham Khan to sent her Camphor, Musk and Amber etc to decorate herself Adham Khan sent these things in big quantity, out of which Rupmati took a handful of champor and died Vide, *MKNJ*, p 167, Crump, *Lady of the Lotus* p 53 According to 'Umri, Rupmati fled from the capital in the guise of a flower-seller After three days Adham Khan discovered that Rupmati had escaped He gave orders to fifteen of his best cavalry to capture her and bring her back She was captured and brought back and was carefully guarded and placed under strict watch. Crump writes, "As regards the place of Rupmati's death there is no need to doubt the version of the manuscript that it took place at Mandu" However, Crump in accepting 'Umari's version overlooked the fact that Adham Khan was at Sarangpur and Mandu was given to Pir Muhammad, besides, Baz Bahadur was at Sarangpur when Adham Khan attacked

CONDUCT OF ADHAM KHAN AND PIR MUHAMMAD

Adham Khan had kept all the treasures of Baz Bahadur with himself, but in order to gratify the imperial officers he inaugurated a great feast and made presents according to his own pleasure to all the servants of the State who were in his company in Malwa The right of distributing gifts etc , to the officers was a royal prerogative, but the victory at Sarangpur and acquisition of so much wealth and over all a full seraglio completely disbalanced the head of Adham Khan, and brought to the surface his innate beastly nature.[1] For the purpose of administration, Malwa was divided into four divisions, *i e.*, Sarangpur, Mandu, Handia and Mandsor Adham Khan remained in Sarangpur, Pir Muhammad was appointed at Mandu with which Ujjain was also attached Handia was assigned to Qiya Khan, and Sadiq Khan was appointed to look after Mandsor and its dependencies [2]

Adham Khan, however, greatly offended Akbar, because he sent to him only a few elephants with a report of victory whereas for himself he kept "all the rare and exquisite articles and all the buried treasures which were the collection of ages, and many of the famous dancing girls, and beauties whose loveliness and grace were bruited about, as well as many singers and musicians "[3] The real picture of victory and the gains were conveyed to Akbar by Sadiq Khan who returned to Agra[4] from Malwa On receiving the information Akbar decided to march into Malwa, but he kept his intentions secret, and started on 11th *Sha'ban* 968 A.H /27th April 1561 A D ,[5] attended by a band of special attendants. Akbar made a rapid march and without halting at Ranthambhor, he reached the vicinity of Gagraun, which was still held by the officers of Baz Bahadur [6] The commandant

[1] *A N* II, p 214, *MKINJ*, p 167 Mu'tamid Khan says, "Adham Khan completely overlooked the right of one from whom he had received all this "

[2] *A.N* II, p 214, Mu'tamid Khan says, "when Pir Muhammad found that his advice had no effect on Adham Khan he tried to pacify and reward Mughal officers and distributed the conquered area to different officers Vide, *MKINJ*, p 167

[3] Though 'Abul Fazl says that Akbar felt the need of correction of Adham Khan, who after victory of Malwa had became seditious, the real cause of offence seems to be Adham Khan's attempt to deprive Akbar of the beauties and treasures acquired in Malwa

[4] *A N* II, p 218

[5] *Ibid*, p 218

[6] *MKINJ*, p 169

of Gagraun was conscious that after the fall of Sarangpur, with Baz Bahadur moving as a fugitive, he would not be able to resist the Mughals for long; so on the approach of Akbar, he voluntarily came forward and after submission to the Mughal Emperor handed over the keys of the fort For his conduct he was rewarded by Akbar, but the fort was placed under a Mughal officer named Khaldn Akbar did not stay at Gagraun, but continued his march southwards throughout the night and arrived on the borders of Sarangpur early in the morning of 27th *Sha'ban*/13th May.[1]

After Akbar's departure from Agra, Maham Anga had sent a swift messenger, informing Adham Khan of Akbar's march, but the courier could not reach in time Thus on 27th of *Sha'ban*/ 13th May, by a strange coincidence when Adham Khan started from Sarangpur for the conquest of Gagraun, he suddenly came across the Royal Camp coming towards Sarangpur and was taken almost by surprise [2] As Akbar continued his march, Adham Khan also joined the Royal Camp, and the entire party entered Sarangpur the same day. If Akbar had moved fast, covering the distance from Agra to Sarangpur in sixteen days, Maham Anga had moved faster still. On the next day, she arrived at Sarangpur with the Royal *zanana* On Maham Anga's warning, Adham Khan "produced before His Majesty whatever had come into his hands from Baz Bahadur's estate, whether movable or immovable as well as all the wives, dancing girls and courtesans "

After the acquisition of the wealth and seraglio of Baz Bahadur, Akbar seems to have been pleased and did not prolong his stay in Sarangpur for more than four days Akbar at this time seems to have been frivolous, and if Adham Khan had been interested in the *harem* of Baz Bahadur, Akbar was no less interested. When on his return on the 2nd *Ramazan*, he learnt that two girls from the *harem* had been secretly removed by Adham Khan, he immediately ordered a halt after having traversed only one stage, and ordered a search for the missing girls [3] The search party succeeded in recovering the girls, but Maham Anga fearing further exposure of her son and also her connivance[4] in it, caused the two girls to be put to death Akbar overlooked this deed of Maham Anga and resumed his march While leaving Malwa, Akbar confirmed

[1] *A N II*, p 218
[2] *Ibid*, p 219, *MKNJ*, p 169
[3] *A N* II, p 221
[4] *Ibid*

all the officers in their possessions, Pir Muhammad Khan, Qiya Khan, Habib 'Ali Khan and Adham Khan were all reposted to their former places [1]

Thus we find it was a hasty march of Akbar and an equally hasty return, he having remained in Sarangpur for only four days So far as "regulating the matters" of Malwa are concerned, Akbar took no steps. He did not even make an enquiry into the conduct of his officers in Malwa No doubt he deprived Adham Khan of the accumulated wealth of Baz Bahadur, and cut down his resources for creating trouble However, after his return to Agra, Akbar soon recalled Adham Khan, and the charge of Malwa was given to Pir Muhammad [2]

END OF PIR MUHAMMAD BAZ BAHADUR'S REOCCUPATION OF MALWA

For the people of Malwa, Pir Muhammad was almost like the scourge of God The tortures inflicted, and the bloodshed caused[3] by him, made him extremely unpopular Pir Muhammad soon learnt that Baz Bahadur had come to Awas[4] and was collecting troops He, therefore, immediately marched out, and defeating Baz Bahadur drove him away But Baz Bahadur had local support and he again succeeded in collecting a strong force Pir Muhammad in the meantime pushed further south and attacked Bijagarh which was held by I'timad Khan,[5] an officer of Baz Bahadur. After a stiff resistance the town and the fort capitulated Pir Muhammad spent a few days in rearranging the fort of Bijagarh and then marched to Sultanpur and conquered it From Sultanpur, Pir Muhammad proceeded towards Burhanpur against Miran Mubarak Shah of Khandesh who was helping Baz Bahadur [6] Mughal forces effectively pushed up to Burhanpur,[7] but Miran Mubarak

[1] *A N.* II, p. 222 [2] *Ibid*, p 235

[3] *MKINJ*, p. 177 Mu'tamid Khan mentions a story which reflects the nature of Pir Muhammad Once Pir Muhammad went to the *Jama Masjid* in Mandu where a great *faqir* lived He asked him about the result of his expedition to Bijagarh and Kakrun The *faqir* asked for a copy of the Quran and took out *'fal'* which read "we have drowned Pharaoh and you were looking at" *i e* you would be drowned, whereupon Pir Muhammad got enraged and beat the *faqir* severely with a stick, *Lady of the Lotus*, p 52

[4] *A N.* II, (Tr Beveridge), p 256, *MKINJ*, p 175

[5] *MKINJ*, p 176

[6] *A N* II, (Tr Beveridge), p 257

[7] *A N* II, (Tr Beveridge), p 257, *MKINJ*, p 176 Both 'Abul Fazl and Mu'tamid Khan say that Pir Muhammad crossed the Narbada when

(*Continued on next page*)

Shah in the meantime had left Burhanpur and had shut himself up in the fort of Asir Pir Muhammad plundered the city of Burhanpur, and thus crowned with success and laden with booty he started his return journey Pir Muhammad, however, soon received information that Baz Bahadur had collected a force and was following him Pir Muhammad's camp was heavily laden with booty, and, therefore, his companions advised him to avoid a battle[1] and cross the Narbada, but Pir Muhammad decided to give battle As his troops were not properly managed he was defeated After defeat, Pir Muhammad retreated towards the Narbada, hotly pursued by Baz Bahadur, and in his haste he tried to cross the Narbada at a place where the water was too deep Incidentally his horse was entangled and gave a violent jerk which threw him off his horse and he was drowned in the Narbada[2]

Pir Muhammad's death caused great alarm in the Mughal camp, but the army managed to return under the command of 'Ali Biloch[3] However, it completely broke down the morale of the Mughal officers and they soon started evacuating these places, while Baz Bahadur moved from place to place, rolling up the Mughal occupation Thus very soon, Baz Bahadur once more recovered Malwa, as Qiya Khan Kang, Shah Muhammad Qiltai, Habib 'Ali Khan and other Mughal officers who had fiefs in Malwa, withdrew to Agra[4]

FINAL ANNEXATION BY AKBAR

Baz Bahadur, no doubt succeeded in reoccupying Malwa, but the country had been so much ravished by the Mughals that it was not possible for him to consolidate his position in a short time Akbar, on the other hand, realised that it was a great loss to Mughal prestige and must be at once retrieved. He also realised that mere occupation of a country which had enjoyed freedom for a century,

(Continued from pre-page)

marching towards Burhanpur I have failed to find out, as to how the Narbada came in between Sultanpur and Burhanpur Both of the towns are situated well in the south of the Narbada

[1] *A N* II, p 238, *MKINJ*, p 176 Mu'tamid Khan says "his officers did not support him properly, therefore, he was defeated"

[2] *A N* II, p 256 'Abul Fazl says, "He was drowned and went to the ocean of annihilation either as a retribution for the oppression which he had committed in this expedition or his conduct in Tardi Beg Khan's battle or for some other deed"

[3] *MKINJ*, p 177 [4] *A N* II, p 257

could never be successful, unless competent officers who "possessed excellent sense as well as abundant courage and perfect energy together with judicial calm"[1] were appointed to take charge of the affairs of Malwa

Akbar, therefore, appointed 'Abdullah Khan[2] Uzbeg, who had been formerly in the country and was familiar with its nature, to reconquer the country of Malwa But for revenue administration and proper settlement of the country he also sent Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad Farkhundi along with 'Abdullah Khan Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Farkhundi had worked as one of the *Diwans* in the *Diwan-i-Biyutat* and had established his reputation for ability and integrity Akbar's instructions to Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Farkhundi were to regulate the province, to enquire into the position of the *jagirs* and to define the *Khalsa* land While 'Abdullah Khan was to rule the country, Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad was to encourage the peasantry, the farmers and other inhabitants, both high and low He was also to remedy the absenteeism which might have occurred due to the marching and countermarching of troops, and with the assistance of other officers who were also appointed "he was to allot fiefs according to the rules of eternal dominion"[3]

When Baz Bahadur heard of the fresh arrival of the Mughals, he lost his courage and evacuated Malwa But Mughal forces followed him and forcing him to give battle completely routed him With a large number of Malwi soldiers killed, Baz Bahadur fled to Gondwana[4]

'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg occupied Malwa and set up his headquarters at Mandu Mughal officers were sent to all the important places, and according to the instructions of Akbar, Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Ahmad Farkhundi soon established peace in the country Malwa was now incorporated as a *subah* in the Mughal Empire Thus the independent kingdom of Malwa founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 804 A H./A D 1401-2 finally came to an

[1] *A N* II, p 259 [2] *Ibid*, II, p 260

[3] *Ibid*

[4] Baz Bahadur did not stay in Gondwana, but escaped to Rana Udai Singh of Chittor He then left for Gujarat, but finding no safe asylum anywhere, he ultimately submitted to Akbar, who conferred on him a *mansab* of 1000, which was later increased to 2000 'Abul Fazl's inclusion of the name of Baz Bahadur amongst the musicians of Akbar's court indicates that he had gained royal favour as a musician

end in 969 A.H.[1]/A D 1562 As a province of Mughal Empire, Malwa once more prospered though her existence with separate identity was gone

[1] *A N.* II, p 261 'Abul Fazl mentions the final incorporation of Malwa in the events of the 7th regnal year, reckoned officially as beginning on March 11, 1562

Chapter XIII

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

The system copied from the Dehli Administrative system —The monarch—Succession—Important officers—Administrative divisions—Iqtadari system—Administrative policy, tolerant to all religions

THE kingdom of Malwa was an outcome of the political disintegration of the Sultanate of Dehli and as such the Sultans of Malwa looked to the system of the parent empire as their model Such a conclusion truly speaking is based on the fact that the contemporary historians of Malwa often mention the designation of officers which are the same as those found in the administrative system of the Sultanate of Dehli Besides, Malwa had been a province of Dehli for about a century and prior to that the system of the Paramars had already crumbled down when it was conquered by 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji Thus hardly anything of the past was left when Dilawar Khan founded the Kingdom and for the administrative organisation he looked towards the system of Dehli.

The information though scanty throws sufficient hints to form an idea of the structure and certain salient features of administration Like its parent body, the Muslim kingdom of Malwa too was monarchical in structure with the sultan as the head and final authority in all matters. The sultans of Malwa were autocratic rulers and though they often sought advice but there was no provision to make this advice binding upon them. We have before us the case of Hoshang Shah's seeking advice from his nobles on the occasion of Muzaffar Shah's invasion and yet acting contrary to the advice given by them [1] Similarly we find Mahmud Khalji I summoning his nobles for their counsel on all important occasions though we cannot definitely state the extent to which his decisions were governed by these advices The nobles and advisers, however, became very powerful when they found the Sultan weak Towards the end of the reign of Ghiyath Shah,

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 31a

the nobles played an important role in the struggle between Shuja'at Khan and Nasir Shah During the reign of Mahmud II the nobles became so powerful that the Sultan was forced to leave his capital.

THE SULTAN AND HIS CONDUCT

Almost at the very start of the kingdom of Malwa, Hoshang Shah sought the advice of Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani on the principles of government The advice of the saint is to be found in a collection of letters known as *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* Though the advice contains almost the same old often repeated dictums yet it may not be out of place to mention them here as they directly refer to Malwa.

The entire advice may be summarised as follows :

"When you become lord (king) act honestly to please God so that He may favour you with many blessings Justice is the only proper means of offering your thanks to God for His great blessings "

"Amir (king) should lead the army at its head He must shun wine and luxury. He must complete the day's work without leaving it for the morrow "

"In important works he must consult good, honest and learned men."

"Consultation may appear as the divulgence of a secret, but in reality it is the right method of keeping a secret In consultation he must listen to all without at once expressing approval of any of the opinions. He should move in such a way that each one of them may feel that he has acted upon his advice "

"Nothing can be more destructive for the king than the following four things : (1) Indulgence in sensuality, (2) Loss of one's own moral character, (3) Persistent and severe punishment, (4) Terrorization of the subjects "

"The Amir (king) must get up one *Pas* (3 hours) before sunrise, and after offering his prayers he should meet the *'Ulama*, but he should carefully avoid irreligious *'Ulama* (*'Ulama-i-Mudahina*) He should then allow plain speaking truthful *darveshes* to meet him and should listen to them But all this work he must finish before sunrise and allow them leave He should then meet his *wazirs* and other officers who have important works of the state and attend to them He should then allow the common subject to approach him and should do justice to them "

"The Amir (king) should appoint only learned and trustworthy persons, who should also be popular."

"Whatever I could remember at this moment I have written to you and hope that it would be useful for the present as well as for the future kings to come"[1]

This advice was something like a guide for the conduct of the personal life of the monarch Powerful sultans like Hoshang Shah and Mahmud Khalji I tried to live upto it They endeavoured throughout their lives to maintain equity and justice and spared no pains to look after the administration of the country Ghiyath Shah left much of the work to be done by his ministers Nasir Shah and Mahmud Khalji II depended too much upon their ministers, the former because of his drunkenness and the latter because of his incapacity. That the advice had not been completely forgotten can be found from the advice of Nasir Shah to his son before his death We find Nasir Shah advising that the monarch must have love for his subjects, should administer justice without distinction, should respect and associate with the learned and religious men, extend benevolence and charity to the entire kingdom, be accessible to all and rule according to the counsel of the learned Nasir Shah also advised that a king should not become subject to lust and sensuality, should not oppress his subjects and should never hesitate from appearing for public audience and should not allow himself to be dominated by stupid and foolish persons

THE COURT

The state business was transacted by the sultan in a number of sessions or courts, of which the public audience or '*Bar-i-Am*' was the most important *Bar-i-Am* was open to the public and was one of the means by which the sultan kept contact with his subjects It was in the *Bar-i-Am* or *Majlis-i-Am* that the sultan made important declarations The nomination of a successor was announced in the *Bar-i-Am*.[2] Reception of the foreign envoys also took place in this court Sultan Mahmud I received the envoys of Jaunpur and Gujarat after his return from Dehli in the general public audience or *Bar-i-Am*[3] The bulk of the state business was

[1] *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, fols 75a-82a

[2] Sultan Hoshang to announce Ghazni Khan as his Successor summoned *Bar-i-Am* Vide, *T.A* II, p 483

[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 117a

transacted by the sultan in another court, the *Majlis-i-Khas* The sultan's private audience or meeting was called *Mahfil-i-Uns.*[1]

SUCCESSION

In Malwa the practice of nomination of the successor was given a fair trial and it seems that the people had accepted it as a settled convention The succession of Muhammad Ghuri, Ghiyath Shah, Nasir Shah and Mahmud Khalji II were all according to the nomination made by the sultans during their lifetime While the first three of the names mentioned were eldest sons, the last was not Nasir Shah had earlier nominated his eldest son as his successor and had bestowed upon him the title of Sultan Shihabuddin. But when the prince revolted against his father, Nasir Shah rescinded his orders and announced his third son, Mahmud, as his successor After the death of Nasir Shah, Shihabuddin tried his utmost, but the officers of the state upheld the last nomination and Shihabuddin could not even enter the capital. Thus we find that principle of nomination had a stronger hold over the principle of primogeniture

MINISTERS AND OFFICERS OF THE STATE

The bulk of state business was placed under the direct supervision of the *Wazir* and the *'Aziz-i-Mumalik*. While the former looked after the finances of the state and exercised general supervision the latter looked after the organisation and management of the army. The religious affairs of the state were entrusted to the care of the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and the judiciary was with the *Qazi* But the sultan was the highest authority over all of them

The personal staff of the sultan included such officers as *Hajib, Dabir, Dawatdar, Amir Akhur, Mir Shikar* etc. These officers looked after the *majlis*, protected his person, helped him in his hunt and assisted him in his correspondence Besides the personal staff the sultans of Malwa maintained a big *Harem* establishment which had a separate staff

In Malwa there existed a system of gradation of the officers on the basis of ranks held by them Shihab Hakim in the course of his narrative of the introduction of lunar calendar mentions ranks ranging from 500 to 20,000 That these ranks were a regular gradation is also clear from his account, wherein he mentions their supplying one horse to 20 horses, *i e* the ranks were associated

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 117a

with certain conditions of service [1] Though the information is not enough to warrant any definite conclusions for the present, it may be suggested that with further research, a prototype of mansabdari system which was later adopted by Sher Shah may be traced in Malwa

EXTENT OF THE KINGDOM AND ITS SUB-DIVISIONS

The kingdom of Malwa at its zenith, under Mahmud Khalji, held sway over a vast territory, and included such regions as Bayana, Kalpi, Chanderi, Sarguja, Raipur, Ratanpur, Bairagarh, Elichpur, the Northern Spurs of the Satpura Range and in the west as far as Dohad, Banswara, Kanthal (Deola and Pratapgarh) and Mandsor. But it would be erroneous to assert that the sultan exercised direct control over these territories Large portions out of this were semi-independent states acknowledging nominal suzerainty of the sultan of Malwa They simply paid the annual tribute, otherwise they were free to manage their own states. In return for the tribute the sultan of Malwa protected them from the aggression of their neighbours The regions of Ajmer, Bayana, Kalpi, Sarguja, Raipur, Ratanpur, Bairagarh and Baglana belonged to this category

The remaining territory was divided into provinces and frontier outposts. The responsibility of the person in charge of a frontier outpost was to look after the neighbouring regions Ranthambhor, Mandsor, Gagraun, Chanderi and Kherla come under this category The major administrative divisions of the remaining territory were Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Hoshangabad Shadiabad Mandu, Dhar and Nalcha formed the centre and was under the sultan himself

MILITARY ORGANISATION

The organisation of the army was placed under the general supervision of the *'Ariz-i-Mumalik* But when the army was on an expedition or was specially summoned for any occasion a separate *'Ariz* was appointed only for that occasion [2] Besides the army which was directly under the command of the sultan and which

[1] See, *supra Chater* VIII, Details under "*Regularisation of Calendar*"

[2] Sultan Mahmud while resting at Nalcha received information of Nizamul-Mulk Turk's invasion of Kherla He immediately ordered *'Ariz-i-Mumalik* to summon all the soldiers and after muster to put them on purpose, and he appointed Taj Khan as *'Ariz* for this army which was to be on move Vide, *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 259a.

certainly was recruited at the centre, the various governors also had armies under their control. The army of the governors, in all likelihood, was recruited by them and therefore named after the places which were the headquarters of the governors. We find Shihab Hakim mentioning the army of Sarangpur and the army of Chanderi In some cases the sultan himself seems to have gone to certain regions to recruit soldiers. Whenever the sultan went out on any campaign or expedition the governors who were summoned came with their army to the assistance of the sultan.

The army comprised infantry, cavalry and an elephant corps. The Malwa Sultans had collected quite a large number of elephants, and Sultan Mahmud I had made regular arrangements for the constant supply of elephants with the rulers of Sarguja and Rajput and seems to have arranged for his own catch also. The importance of elephants can be had from the picture drawn by Barbosa. "They build wooden castles", writes Barbosa, "on the elephants' backs which will hold three or four men armed with bows, arrows, arquebuses and other weapons. From these castles they fight against their enemies and the aforesaid elephants are so well trained to this that when they enter into battle they strike both horses and warriors "[1]

The army when on the march was divided into *Qalb*, *Junah*, *Yazak* and *Saqa*, and *Maimna* and *Maisra*[2] *Maimna* and *Maisra* were right and the left wings *Qalb* was the centre *Junah* was the front of the centre, *Yazak* was the advance guard and *Saqa* the rear guard. During the battle array there used to be another officer called *Muntajib* whose function was to convey to the various wings the orders of the sultan.[3] Regarding weapons besides the usual ones, the following siege engines deserve special mention *Atish-i-Naft* (a catapult for throwing fire), *Sang Manjaniq* (a catapult for throwing stones), *Galulah Kaman Ra'd, Tir-i-Takhsha* and *Kaman Charkh*[4]

STATE INCOME

The information regarding the state income is so scanty that it is well nigh impossible to say anything precisely about the financial

[1] *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, I, p 118

[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 171b [3] *Ibid*, fols 174a, 175a.

[4] *Ibid*, fol 208a *Ghalulah Kaman Ra'd, Tir-i-Takhsha* and *Kaman Charkh* are all varieties of catapults with different degree of strength for throwing the missiles

organisation of the state. However from *Ma'athir-i-Mahmud-shahi*, and *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi* it seems that the greater part of the kingdom was granted in *Iqta's* to the officers who were left to make their own arrangement A certain part of the kingdom was kept by the sultan and was known as the *Khalsa* land In the *Khalsa* land the revenue administration was directly under the Central Government and revenue officers were appointed by the sultan Though we have no means of ascertaining, the Government's share of the produce or the method of assessment etc, but from the measures taken by Mahmud Khalji we can be sure of one thing that revenue was paid by the cultivators through the revenue officers of the state The revenue was paid at the harvest time We find Shihab Hakim mentioning that on Sultan Mahmud's enquiry, the officers of *Diwan-i-Wizarat* informed him that the receipts in the revenue department were made according to the Solar calendar [1]

Besides land revenue the sultan derived considerable income from the tribute paid by the petty chiefs and *Khidmati* (presents) paid by the officers and chiefs when they visited the sultan The occasional raids into the neighbouring kingdoms also helped in enriching the coffers of the sultan However after the death of Mahmud Khalji I the last mentioned source must have ceased to bring in any income, because his successors could not pursue his policy

ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

The sultans of Malwa followed a calculated administrative policy to keep all sections of their subjects well satisfied. They followed a policy of religious toleration to an extent which was not known to the contemporary neighbouring kingdoms. In their administrative machinery they freely appointed Hindus in various posts of importance. In the struggle between Nasir Shah and Shuja'at Khan during the lifetime of Ghiyath Shah we find Shiv Das siding with Nasir Shah while Munja sided with Shuja'at Khan and both occupied posts of importance. At the accession of Mahmud II we find Basant Rai being reinstated in the office of *Wizarat* where he had worked during the reign of Nasir Shah During the reign of Mahmud II, Salivahan and Medini Rai became the most important officers of the State, and

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 276b.

because of the authority they exercised, they soon became objects of envy to other Muslim *amirs* of the state. Even in this party struggle for power, in spite of the religious colouring given by the Muslim historians, communal feeling did not prevail As already pointed out quite a number of Muslim *amirs* also fell in the defence of Shadiabad against the attack of Muzaffar Shah II. Had there been any communal feeling, these Muslim officers would not have sided with the Rajput defenders of the fort. In the case of Mahmud II's escape from Mandu we find that he sought and received help from Kishna, a Hindu, had Mahmud II been a persecutor of the Hindus, a Hindu would have certainly betrayed him much less give him help.

We have already seen that Malwa had become a refuge for all dissatisfied Rajput princes of Mewar where they not only lived peacefully, but subsequently founded smaller states of their own Even in the *Jauhar* performed by Silahdi, we find Taj Khan siding with Silahdi and participating in the *Jauhar*. Beside, during the entire period covered by the present study we do not find persecution of the Hindus mentioned even by such Muslim historian for whom Medini Rai, Salivahan, Silahdi and Puran Mal keeping Muslim women in their *harem* was a matter of great disgrace to Islam. The truth is that the rulers of Malwa by their tolerant administrative policy had removed much of the religious distinction and had paved the way for a common life both for the Hindus and the Muslims.

Chapter XIV

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Agricultural Produce—Forest Products—Mines and Quarries—Gold and Silver works—Pottery and Glaze —Minor Industries—Textile Industry—Brocade—Economic Prosperity—Condition of the Peasantry

It is a matter of great disappointment that Persian historians, who have recorded with great care the political and military events of the rulers of Malwa, hardly say anything about the life of the people or about the social and economic conditions of their times However, a redeeming feature of these Persian historians is that while describing the court ceremonials or marriage festives they describe the grandeur displayed by the monarchs and in that connection mention many things from which one can deduce various aspects of economic life The remarks of Ibn Battuta when compared with the remarks of Abul Fazl indicate that the pattern of production of the region had practically undergone no change and that Malwa enjoyed for many centuries the fruits of her fertile soil, natural resources and skill in various handicrafts displayed by her intelligent and industrious population [1]

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Nature has provided Malwa with a rich and fertile soil, plenty of rainfall and a temperate climate which with a reasonable amount of human effort is capable of yielding plenty of agricultural produce. Ibn Battuta[2] testifies that the region about Dhar produced abundant grain, specially wheat Writing about agricultural produce Abul Fazl says, "both the harvests are excellent and specially wheat, poppy, sugar-cane, mangoes, melons and grapes." Regarding grapes he says, at Hasilpur and at Dhar the vine bears twice in the year [3] Besides wheat,

[1] Sujan Rai Bhandari in *Khulasat ut Tawarikh* and Chatarman in *Chahar Gulshan* have given a description of Malwa which is almost identical with the description of Abul Fazl which indicates that practically no change had taken place in Malwa

[2] *Rehla*, p 167

[3] *Ain* II, pp. 207, 208 "Hasalpur—a large village and headquarters of a *thana* in the Mhow pargana situated on the Chambal river in 20°.29'N and 75°.41'E " Vide, Luard, *Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 278

Malwa also produced paddy, gram, peas, *jawaree*, *bajree*, *moong*, *urad*, linseed and *til*.[1] The soil of Malwa called *Mar* or *Kali* by local people and black cotton soil by Europeans,[2] specially favours the production of cotton, which certainly was an important item of produce during the period under review Garlic, turmeric and ginger[3] were produced in abundance.

Indigo though in comparatively small quantity was also produced in Malwa, besides, *Morindo Citrifolia*,[4] the root of which yields excellent red dye was produced in fairly good quantity and was used in the textile industry of Malwa, the surplus, we may presume, being sold to Gujarat textile manufacturers.

Malwa produced an excellent quality of betel leaves,[5] which according to Ibn Battuta was sent to Dehli The abundance of betel leaf in Malwa had made it a commodity of general consumption and it had become almost an institution in social life Mahmud distributed *pan* at the condolence meeting on the death of Sultan Muhammad Gujarati. *Pan* was distributd to the guests during the marriage as a mark of welcome. Mahmud II sent *pan* to Medini Rai as a symbol for him to depart

Regarding the excellence of Malwa mangoes Jahangir has mentioned that "though mangoes are produced in many parts, but there are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of Malwa, in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre and in size."[6] About the excellent quality and luxuriant growth of melons in Dhar we can have some idea from the story narrated by Ibn Battuta. According to the story *Shaikh* Ibrahim built a *Khanqah* and distributed food etc, to travellers of all kind and poor people and still saved 13 *lakh tankas* from the cultivation of melons and presented the amount to Sultan

1 Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India.*

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol XVII, p 100

3 *Ni'matnamah*, (Ms) The recipes in this work are full of these spices *Indore State Gazetteer*, Vol II, p 94 Luard supplies the following information. "Many spices are grown, *ajwan*, *rai*, *dhania* and ginger are the commonest" The list includes the following . *Sata* or *Bar* (Sugar-cane), *Sonph* (Dilseed), *Mitha nim* (Curry leaf), *Mirchi* (Chillies), *Dhania* (Coriander seed), *Ajwan*, *Jira* (Cumin), *Haldi* (Turmeric), *Bari Sonph* (Fennel), *Pan* (Betel leaf), *Kali Mirch* (Pepper), *Rai* (Mustard), *Adrakh* or *Sonth* (Ginger)

4 Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*

5 *Rehla*, p 167, *Ain* II, p 208

6 *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, p 377

Muhammad Tughlaq.[1] Of the other varieties of fruits and trees Khirni, Mahua, Banyan, Pipal, Teak and Tamarind must be mentioned. In Mandu there is another specie of fruit-bearing tree called *Khurasani Imli* or baobab (Adansonia digitata). It has huge swollen trunk and leafless branches from which the fruits hung like pendant gourds It is believed to have been introduced into Mandu from Africa during the reign of Mahmud Khalji I[2] This tree is noticed by Abul Fazl who has mentioned it as tamarind. "Here the tamarind grows", says Abul Fazl, "as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white"[3] "The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March, the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sharbet."

FOREST PRODUCTS

Malwa had plenty of forests which provided ample wood both for fuel and for construction of buildings. The teak of Malwa even upto the present day is used for furniture making The forests yielded to the kingdom of Malwa quite a number of products Honey definitely was a fresh product and yielded quite a good quantity of wax which was used for various purposes. Wax candles were used for the purpose of illumination and it was considered as an article of luxury forming an article for the consumption of rich and royal courts[4] Wax was also used in preparing artificial trees for the purpose of decoration on special occasions. We find mention of artificial trees made of wax, silk and wire for general decoration[5] during the marriage festive of Prince Ghiyath Shah and again on the occasion of reception given to Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat by Mahmud Khalji II.

1 *Rehla*, p 167

2 Yazdani, *Mandu*, p 2, *Jr B B R A S*, p 355, Ernest Barnes opines, "It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu and except an occasional specimen it is not to be found in any other part of Malwa, and is exotic in India. The Adansonia digitata *i e*, the Baobab tree of Senegal is known in Malwa as Khorasani Imli It seems probable that the tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmud Khalji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed"

3 *Ain* II, p 208.

4 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 124b The illuminations in the marriage of Ghiyath Shah were of wax candles as well as lamps

5 *Ibid*, fol 124b, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*, (MS. *Add.* 26279), fol 45a

The forests of Malwa abound in wild life, which not only provided ample scope for hunt, but also provided through their hides commodities of considerable value. Among the hides Sambar skin was specially used for military accoutrement It provided something like a coat for the soldiers. Sambar skin was also exported to neighbouring states Some parts of the forests of Malwa were inhabited by elephants Mahmud Khalji I had made arrangements for regular elephant hunts in these forests Shihab Hakim mentions that on one occasion 29 elephants were received from the (*Damgah*) hunting place of the Sultan [1] Abul Fazl[2] has also pointed out elephants and horses in the sarkar of Bijagarh

MINES AND QUARRIES

The hilly regions of Malwa abound in stones of various kinds and of different hues Marble of varying tints from white to pink was available in some of the ranges Yellow marble was also available. Thus stone and marble quarries were a regular field of employment and activity These stones were mostly used for Royal buildings

The kingdom of Malwa at its zenith included such territories which had mines of precious stones Tracts of Panna and the territories of Raipur, Ratanpur[3] and Bairagarh,[4] all contained mines of diamond. The mines of course were directly under the control of the rulers of these territories, but as they had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan of Malwa, they paid their tributes partly in these precious stones and thereby considerably enriched the state of Malwa. Among the other gems and precious stones, we come across, *Yakut-i-Hiramane* (red), *Firoza*

[1] *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 118a

[2] *Ain*. II, p 216

[3] *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 106. Shihab Hakim speaks of diamond mines of Raipur and Ratanpur.

[4] *Ibid*, fol 257a; *Ain* II, p 238; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Vol II, p 54, fn. 1 The translator has observed, "Tavernier failed to note the diamond mines of Panna in Bundelkhand Sambalpur on the Mahanadi and Wairagarh—Bairagarh of the *Ain-i-Akbari*—which were almost certainly open then" Amir Khusrau also mentions the diamond mines of Bairagarh Vide, *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p 60. Bairagarh in ancient times was known as Wairagaram and Vajrakar because of *Vajra* or Diamond mine In a Tamil work *Shilppadigāram* (composed 110-140 A D) the place is mentioned as Wairagaram. Vide, Hiralal, *Madhya Pradesh ka Itihas*, p 59

Zamurrud (green)[1] The abundance of precious stones led to the production of such costly items as trays of *Yakut* and cups of *firoza*[2] That these were the specialities of Malwa can be ascertained from the presents sent by Mahmud Khalji I to Abu Said Mirza Among the articles sent as present there was a cup of *Yaqut*, a spoon of ruby, a plate of *aqiq*, a dish of *firoza* and a basin of alabaster[3]

GOLD AND SILVER WORKS

Ornaments formed the principal item in the dress of women from ancient times Precious stones and gold generally formed the basic material for making ornaments In Malwa too the art of goldsmith was fairly developed. In the paintings of *Ni'matnamah* we find women dressed in male attire but at the same time wearing ornaments. The ear rings, tops and bangles are clearly visible Among the ornaments specially mentioned we find *Jhuna* and *Jhumartali Mahmudshahi*[4] as ornaments given as presents to the women of the *amirs* during the marriage of Ghiyath Shah Utensils of gold and silver were used by the sultans and their *amirs* and the richer class of the people. Gold incense-burners and silver flower-pots (*Nargisdans*)[5] were a regular part of the court life and the household establishment of the sultan and the richer class

We find mention of gold leaf in which betel leaves were folded (*Biras*) and served to the guests[6] Thus making of gold foils must have engaged quite a large number of persons and was something like a cottage industry in Malwa Drawing of fine gold wire to be used in brocade work and *Kamkhwab* was another branch of the gold industry.

POTTERY AND GLAZE

In Malwa, particularly at Mandu the glazed pottery industry had achieved a very high standard and was produced in a fairly large quantity. Blue and yellow painted glazed tiles are distributed throughout the buildings of Mandu. "So much of this is even now traceable," writes Percy Brown, "that it is evident there was very flourishing industry in glazed earthenware at Mandu during the fifteenth century, and the fine colour the

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 120b
[2] *Ibid.*, fol 123a
[3] *Ibid*, fol 302b
[4] *Ibid*, fol. 124a
[5] *Ibid*, fol 120b.
[6] *Ibid*, fol 123b, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi*, (MS *Add* 26279) fol. 49a.

potters were able to produce show that they were adepts at their trade They possessed the secret formula, now apparently lost, for the preparation of a turquoise blue which for brilliancy has never been surpassed, and the probability is that these craftsmen brought it with them from Multan which again had derived it in the first instance from Persia "[1]

MINOR INDUSTRIES

Among the minor industries, fire works deserve special mention. Display of fire-works, even today occupies a prominent place in festivities In Malwa during the period under review it had reached such perfection that Shihab Hakim could not fail to notice it. Shihab Hakim has stated "that the fire-work makers had sent Mars like arrows over the sky and like Jupiter and Venus had spread thousands and thousands of stars so beautiful that even Mercury could not find its secret. They fired so beautiful *Charkhis* which even the revolving sky could not make Out of the *Charkhis* beautiful flowers of different colours emerged out. From the fire-works they made shapes of elephants, giraffes, lions and camels, all of fire, and yet so realistic that no one could distinguish them from natural animals, much to the surprise of the greatest critics."[2]

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

In Malwa the textile industry was also fairly developed. Though it is not possible to locate the centres of textile industry, but from the description of presents distributed by Sultan Mahmud Khalji I on various occasions it is clear that Malwa had a flourishing textile industry and produced enough of this commodity to meet the royal requirements Shihab Hakim mentions that from the records of the State store-keeper he learnt that twelve thousand men and women were presented with noble robes etc. (*tashrifat*) on the occasion of the marriage of prince Ghiyath Shah[3] The quantity certainly indicates that there must have been establishments where these commodities were produced.

BROCADE

Brocade work (*zardozi*) was most common in Malwa. Brocade

[1] Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p 63.
[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 125a
[3] *Ibid*, fol 124b

was used for a variety of commodities Dress[1] (*Qaba*) made of brocade studded with gems was used by the sultan and his *amirs* It constituted the principal item among the presents distributed by Mahmud Khalji on the occasions of victory, marriage, arrival of ambassadors from different courts and on all such important occasions. It was considered an item of highest honour bestowed on anyone The cap (*Kulah*) and belt (*Kamar*) were made of brocade[2] The *Jhuls*[3] of elephants made of brocade, were used for the elephants on special occasions

Brocade (*Zardozi*) was used both for dress and for canopies (*Chatra*). The pavilions and the canopies, embroidered with gold and studded with previous stones were costly commodities They required larger investments and were for royal use, and as such in all likelihood they were manufactured in state *Karkhanas*. Shihab Hakim mentions that on the occasion of the marriage of Ghiyath Shah, twenty-one gold embroidered canopies (*Chatra*) were set up for the nobles, while the *Chatra* over the sultan was decorated with gold and was studded with precious stones[4]

Of the varieties of silk cloth we find mention[5] of *Atlas i e.*, plain silk cloth without any work; *Atlas Malun i e*, coloured silk cloth and *Kimkhab i e*, cloth made of fine gold wire and silk *Mu'lam* work *i.e*, making of designs was also prevalent in Malwa.

While silk textile was progressing in Malwa, the cotton textile did not lag behind. Shihab Hakim has mentioned *Musawar i e.*, printed work and *Barik* among the high class cotton cloth[6] He has also mentioned another variety of cotton cloth as *Jama-i-Hindi*,[7] which he describes as full of designs and drawings all woven in the thread and the cloth so fine and delicate that if folded it could be held within finger-tips, but when unfolded it could cover a good space.[8] Abul Fazl[9] has mentioned fine cloth called *Aman* and *Khasah* being produced at Hasilpur in the sarkar of Mandu and white muslin of the kind called *Mahmudi* being produced at Sironj

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 124a.
2 *Ibid*, fols 124a, 303a.
3 *Ibid*, fol 125b.
4 *Ibid*, fol. 120b
5 *Ibid.*, fol 124a
6 *Ibid.*
7 This cloth seems to be something like the *Jamdani* work of Tanda in Fyzabad District
8 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 303a
9 *Ain* II, pp. 213 and 217.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Malwa enjoyed a fair state of economic prosperity and there is ample evidence to indicate abundance of grain in the country. While going to the relief of Shahar Nau, Sultan Mahmud Khalji I ordered that every soldier should carry a donkey-load of grain to be distributed to the people of Shahar Nau.[1] During the siege of Shadiabad Mandu by Ahmad Shah Gujarati, while the Gujarati camp began to suffer from scarcity of grain, Mahmud ordered so much grain to be released from royal granaries that grain inside the city of Shadiabad became cheaper[2] and created such a condition that Gujarati camp began to suffer from disaffection. It was a regular practice of Ghiyath Shah to distribute in alms grain to the needy Besides, the stories that 2 seers of grain per day was fixed even for the small animals and birds also indicate that grain was available in plenty. While we find that during the year 1482-83 A D Gujarat suffered from famine there is no mention of any such famine in Malwa.

General economic prosperity is also indicated by the existence of well-built residential buildings in many towns of Malwa Regarding Chanderi, Babur observed,[3] "All the houses in Chanderi, whether high or low are built of stone, those of the chiefs being laboriously carved; those of the lower class also of stone but are not carved They are covered in with stone-slabs instead of earthen tiles" Ibn Battuta also observed the prosperous conditions of Chanderi and speaks of it as a big city with thronged market places[4]

CATTLE AS MAIN PROPERTY OF CULTIVATORS

Cattle in Malwa was considered as the most valuable property by the cultivators, so much so that there developed in Malwa many sayings about the qualities of the cattle The importance of cattle in the lives of the cultivators of Malwa was noticed very early by Luard[5] The information supplied by him is a very interesting one and therefore it is being quoted here in full

"Malwa with its certain rainfall, wide grass-covered plains and ample water supply and Nimar with the Narbada river

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 97a.
2 *T A*. III, p 316
3 *Babur Nama*, II, p 597
4 *Rehla*, p 166
5 Luard, *Central India State Gazetteer*, Vol II (*Indore State*), pp. 98-99.

and numerous tributaries have always been important centres of cattle breeding."

"Most cultivators are well versed in the good points of cattle; these are, generally speaking, a soft smooth coat, slender tail, broad forehead, broad and big jaw bones, the body set firmly and squarely on the hoofs, which should be erect and not slanting and light in colour; the eye-lashes, the eye-membranes and the hair immediately surrounding the eye-socket and the muzzle should be black. There should not be any loose skin on the sheath and the dewlap must not hang too loosely. Bullocks with a long sheath and big dewlap are said to be easily tired." These points, good and bad, are embodied in numerous local sayings of which a few are given below :

Kali Kachhyo, bengan Khuro jy dhars
Patal puchho Songo, mongo lijo uro

A wife tells her husband on his way to market, "If you come across a bullock whose testes and the part between the thighs are black (*Kali Kachhya*), whose hoofs are black and shaped like a brinjal fruit (*bengan Khura*) take him at once whether he be cheap or dear."

Hat ware Jajo Kanth
Bhurya ka Mat dekhojo dant.

A wife says to her husband, "Husband, go to the market but do not trouble even to examine the teeth (to know his age) of a piebald bullock."

Singa Kori Sir Bhamrala
Mat lijo Kanth tu Kala

A wife says to her husband "Do not bring a bullock which has got white spots like *cowris* in his horns, or one whose forehead has a *bhawra* (hairs in a spiral) or whose colour is black." The common belief is that lightning strikes a black bullock

Sanki lijo Satalya
Mat lijo Patalya.

"Husband, it is better to buy even a *sanki* (whose forehead is characterised by hairs in a spiral) or *satalya* (one which has seven teeth, both *sanki* and *satalya* being ominous signs), but do not buy a bullock which is naturally weak and thin."

Sama Singo dangaro pachhal puni nar
Wakar Kubho adami tane mata age mar

"A bullock with horns pointing to the front or a woman with

too big hips or a fat man whose sides bulge out like those of a goat, are useless and should be sacrificed before the goddess."

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY

The general condition of the peasantry in Malwa was definitely one of the prosperity Though we do not find direct evidence, but the result of a calculated policy followed by the sultans of Malwa created an atmosphere conducive to agricultural prosperity Mahumd Khalji I was very particular in giving instruction to his army not to cause any damage to the crop whenever the army was on the move, but in case the crop could not be prevented from damage he ordered the ministry to calculate the loss and make payment to the cultivators. The sultans of Malwa recruited their army not from outside but from Malwa and in the distribution of *iqta's* and *jagirs* Mahmud Khalji I was very particular not to increase the demand from the holders when their *jagirs* prospered and yielded more than for what it was given According to Mushtaqi, Mahmud told his son Ghiyath Shah, "I raid Chittor twice or thrice in a year, and march as many as seventy *kos* in a day, the soldiers remain with me, and each has 2 or 3 horses with him. During the expedition neither do they separate from me nor do they feel tired They keep their things in order If they are not allowed to keep such *jagirs* they would not remain with me. What can a sultan do without any army." Mahmud also warned Ghiyath Shah to be alert and careful about such persons who might advise him to reduce the *jagirs* of the soldiers, when the income of such *jagirs* increased.[1] The soldiers who were local people, some of them must have come out of the families of the cultivators too, and therefore such a policy must have been a source of great encouragement to the cultivators.

From the time of Sultan Hoshang Shah Malwa was following an aggressive foreign policy and except for the invasions of Ahmad Shah, Malwi forces were always fighting battles in the territories of other states, with the result that Malwa was saved from the marching of the enemy forces and battles fought on her soil. The cultivators and their fields therefore remained undisturbed and they peacefully conducted their agricultural activities. The battles that were fought on the lands of other

[1] *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi*, (*RUTKB* II, p. 146).

states only added to the material wealth of the people, because the soldiers that returned were always having something taken from the country of the enemy.

Chapter XV

CULTURAL ASPECTS

MALWA had a rich tradition of pageantry, literary and artistic culture right from the times of the Gupta monarchs, when Kalidas flourished in Ujjain to the times of Raja Bhoja who was as much interested in creative arts as he was in warfare. The traditions of music, song and colour had taken such a deep root in the hearts of the people of Malwa that they took delight in them without being conscious of it. But the cultural traditions set up by the great Hindu rulers of ancient and medieval Malwa seem to have been eclipsed for some time after its conquest by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. However, with the foundation of the independent kingdom of Malwa the Muslim sultans too were so much influenced by the rich cultural traditions of the country that they became part and parcel of Malwa both in their spirit and in their action. We have already studied their policies and practices in defending and expanding Malwa and in glorifying it as a great kingdom It now remains to examine the extent to which they lived upto the cultural traditions of Malwa, and their contributions to the culture so as to leave them as legacies to posterity. The cultural aspects of the independent kingdom of Malwa, for convenience of study, therefore, have been divided into following sections, Literature, Painting, Architecture and Music.

A. LITERARY ACTIVITY IN MALWA

Literary activity in Malwa continued unhampered under the Muslim rulers. The new rulers, though they professed a different faith, took active interest in the cultural development of the kingdom, and rather than neglect its cultural traditions they enriched it by their liberal patronage. In the field of literature, though Persian remained the official language and naturally received greater attention, the local Hindi and Sanskrit were by no means treated with indifference.

HINDI AND SANSKRIT

Sultan Mahmud was well-read and had a good command over Hindi. He sent to Abu Said Mirza, besides other presents, a poem composed in Hindi[1] which was valued by the latter

[1] *Firishta*, II, p 501.

above everything Mahmud's patronization of Sanskrit literature finds evidence in a Jain Kalpasutra which was transcribed under the patronage of Mahmud Khalji and was inscribed to the Sultan in 1439 A D as the colophone shows.[1]

During the reign of Mahmud Khalji I, Sangram Singh Soni composed *Buddhi Sagar*. It is a book on morals and was completed by the author in V S 1520/A D 1463 at Pratisthanpura (Paithan) where the author had accompanied the Malwa Sultan on his Deccan campaigns.[2]

Though we do not possess specific evidence for the reign of Ghiyath Shah regarding Hindi or Sanskrit, but from a reading of the *Ni'matnamah* which contains a large number of local words we may safely conclude that the local dialect had infiltrated into Persian to a considerable extent. However the continuance of patronage of Hindi and Sanskrit is borne out by the fact that during the reign of Ghiyath Shah, Punjaraja wrote a commentry on *Saraswata*, a Sanskrit grammar, in Mandu. In the *Prashasti* of the book Punjaraja claims to be a minister and mentions his case as Srimal. This Punjaraja has been mentioned by the Persian historians as Munja *Baqqal*, incharge of the *Khalsa* lands who was assassinated during the rebellion of Nasir Shah. Another Jain Scholar, Shrutakirti of Mandava Garh (Mandu) composed in Prakrit Apabhransa *Prameshti Prakash Sara* in V.S 1550/A.D 1493 and *Harivansha Purana* in V.S. 1552/ A D 1495.

The reign of Nasir Shah bears unmistakable testimony of royal patronage to Hindi and Sanskrit which stimulated the production of an increasing number of Hindi and Sanskrit works. During his rein Ishwar Suri wrote *Lalitang Charitra* at Dasapur (Mandsaur) and in the *Prashasti* the name of Nasir Shah has been mentioned with enough affection to indicate that the Sultan was not averse to the promotion of this language. In the *Prashasti* we find the following lines.[3]

[1] Regarding *Mandu Kalpasutra* the following observation from *Marg*, Vol XII, No 3, p 51 may be cited "With regard to the date of the *Mandu Kalpasutra* no doubts can be entertained as the colophon clearly states that it (*Kala-pustakam idam*) was prepared in V S. 1496, A D 1439 at the fort of Mandu (Samvat 1496 *varshe Sri Mandapagadh durge*) in the reign of Padshah Sri Mahammud or Mahmud Shah Khalji "

[2] *Buddhi Sagar, Prashasti*, Verse, 46.

[3] *The Vikram*, Vol III, No. 2, 1959, p. 54.

महि महति मालवदेश । धण कंणय लच्छि निवेस ।।
तिह नियर मडवदुग्ग । अहि नवउ जाण कि सग्ग ।।
तिह अतुलवल गुणवन्त । श्री ग्याससुत जयवत ।।
समरथ साहस धीर । श्री पातिसाह निसीर ।।

The book contains all the elements of *Nav Ras* and is a beautiful piece of poetry.[1]

During the reign of Nasir Shah, *Vishnupurana* was copied at a village called Jagisa in Rajpur which has been identified by Katre[2] as Kheri-Rajpur, a small state in Malwa The appearance of the name of Nasir Shah in the colophone (देशे मालवके नसीर नृपते राज्ये) and the date Salvahan year 1431 *i e*, about A.D. 1509 clearly indicates that it was copied during the reign of Nasir Shah. "Although it does not convey any fresh substantial detail regarding the Sultan", writes Katre, "it possibly does not fail to warrant the conclusion that he was held in high esteem by contemporary Sanskrit scholars. His relation with contemporary Sanskrit scholars appear to be quite cordial and friendly. Had it not been the case, our scribe would possibly have avoided any reference to the Sultan."[3]

During his reign, a book on Chemistry entitled "*Nasirsahi Kankaligranth*" was written. According to Gode[4] "the work under reference is written in Hindi and may, therefore, have been written by Nasir Shah himself or by any person in his employ between A D 1500 and A D. 1510 which is the period of Nasir Shah's reign." The language is mostly Hindi with a mixture of Sanskrit, containing mostly quotations from Sanskrit books written earlier and among those quoted, are *Bhaskar* (भास्कर), *Rasapradip* (रसप्रदीप) and *Bhawaprakash* (भावप्रकाश) Dr. Sharma[5] has pointed out that, it contains methods for the purification of mercury and other metals and, according to him, it was written by some courtiers at the court of Nasir Shah. Some lines of the book are quite interesting as they depict the language which prevailed during the period.

"श्री कत्रे नम ।। उस्ताद की बंदगी करो कराही । सारे शास्त्र कौ सार लेइ कराही श्री ककाली असौ नाम एसे योगेश्वर रसायन कांक सेव

1 *The Vikram*, Vol III, No. 2, 1959, p 55.
2 *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, 1940-41, p 192.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol XII, (1930-31), pp 289-291. P K Gode, *Date of Kankali Granth attributed to 'Nasirshah'*
5 *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, pp. 50-51.

करता हैं। यह शास्त्र अनुभव सिद्ध है, यह शास्त्र बडे-बडे पातिसहू लायक हैं। पलची वश उद्दीनकार के पातिसाह शिरोमणि सुलतान श्री नासीर साह आप अनुभव करण के ताई और रसरांज सुद्ध करणै के ताई पारा के अठारह सस्कार जुदे जुदे करणै की जुगति फुरमाई है।"

What was the fate of Hindi after Nasir Shah, we cannot definitely state. But the ascendancy of the Rajputs during the reign of Mahmud Khalji II must have contributed to the popularity of the local Hindi language. During his reign Nemi Dutt,[1] a resident of Ashanagar (Ashta?), composed *Shripal Charitra, Sadarshan Charitra* and *Neminath Puran* in V S. 1585/ A D. 1528

Hindi also gained popularity during the reign of Baz Bahadur, when Rupmati and Baz Bahadur both composed poetry in Hindi. Rupmati herself used to composed poetry in Hindi[2] and left behind her a tradition which remained in vogue and were sung by musicians of Malwa, the sytle being picked up by the bards for their own composition. "Such bards", writes Mr Crump, "however, ordinarily imitate a model, and Rupmati, as tradition states, may in fact have left one"[3] As is well known Baz Bahadur was intensely devoted to music and poetry His knowledge of poetry included Hindi poetry and when he himself wrote poems, he 'used to pour out his heart in Hindi poems descriptive of his love'[4] and in the Hindi verses which he composed he often inserted the name of Rupmati.[5]

[1] *Prashasti Sangraha*, Digambar Jain Atishaya Kshetra, Shri Mahaviji

[2] An idea of the compositions of Rupmati may be had from the following lines noted by Luard

A few lines from one may be given—

Aurdhan jorta hai, ri mere
To dhan pyare ke prita punji
Aneka jatan kar rakho man men tu partit taro deka hun
Triya ka na loge drishta Apne kar rakhogi kunji:
Din din barhe sawayo, Durhi ghatan eko gunji,
Baz Bahadur ki sneh upar Nichha char karungi ji aur dhan

Friend! let others boast their treasure, Mine's a stock of pure love's pleasure
Safely cared for every part, 'Neath that trusty lock my heart
Safe from other women's peeping, for the key's in my own keeping
Day by day it grows a little, Never loses e'en a little
But through life will ever go with Baz Bahadur weal or woe
Vide, Luard, *Dhar and Mandu*, pp. 22, 23

[3] L M Crump, *The Lady of the Lotus*, p 32.

[4] *Akbar Nama* II, (Tr) p. 213

[5] *T A.* III, (Ti) p 631.

PERSIAN

As already mentioned Persian was the court language of Malwa during the period under review and as such all state papers and documents were written in Persian It became therefore necessary for all serving in the various departments to learn Persian and which in its turn must have given sufficient impetus for the spread of the language. With the decline of Dehli following the invasion of Timur, the capitals of the various provincial kingdoms became the refuge of scholars. Of these centres, one was Shadiabad Mandu. The patronage that was extended by Hoshang Shah immediately attracted *'Ulama* and *Mashaikh* who were repositories of Persian learning, to come in large numbers and settle in the capital of Malwa Mahmud Khalji established colleges in his kingdom, and granted stipends and kept them occupied with imparting and receiving knowledge and learning. In short the country of Malwa in the period of his rule became "an object of envy to Shiraz and Samarqand".[1]

Persian literature found for its expression historical writings and in this branch we have positive evidence of at least two books. The first is *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* which was written during the reign of Mahmud Shah I and represents chaste Persian prose inter-mixed with copious Arabic phrases and quotations. That Mahmud Shah I was interested in historical writings is borne out by Shihab Hakim, the author of *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi* when he says that many scholars prior to him had been entrusted with the task of writing history, but Mahmud Shah I was not satisfied with their works[2] The second historical writing belongs to the reign of Nasir Shah and is entitled *Tarikh-i-Nasirshahi*.[3] The language, however, indicates that the author of this book was not a scholar.

During the reign of Ghiyath Shah quite a number of Persian books were written in Malwa. Shaikh 'Abdullah Shattari who had migrated to India and had finally come to Malwa during the reign of Ghiyath Shah set up his headquarters at Shadiabad Mandu He wrote *Lataif-i-Ghaibiah* dealing with abstract philosophy and dedicated it to Sultan Ghiyath Shah[4] Maulana 'Alim-ud-din Sharif wrote notes on *Fusus-ul-Hikam*.[5]

1 *T A.* III, (Tr) p. 498, *Firishta*, II, p 480.

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 2b, 10a

3 Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in British Museum*, Vol III, p. 968

4 *Shahan-i-Malwa*, p 93 5 *Ibid*, p 94

Though we do not come across positive evidence yet when Mahmud Shah I established *Darul Hadith*, literature dealing with Tradition (*Hadith*) must have been transcribed for the use of the students and teachers of this college To this college came two prominent disciples of 'Abdul Rahman al-Sakhawi (d. 886 A H /A.D 1481) and introduced the al-Sakhawi school of Tradition One of them was Abul Fath bin Razi al-Makki who learnt *Hadith* from al-Sakhawi at al-Hijaz in 870 A H /A D 1465 Shortly after he left for Mandu where he stayed for about thirteen years Then he returned to Makka and died there in 886 A H /A D 1481. The other disciple of al-Sakhawi was Ahmad bin Salih whose father, a native of Makka, had migrated to India Though Ahmad was born in India he was brought up and educated at Makka A *Hafiz* of the Quran he read *Hadith* literature with al-Sakhawi To secure a living Ahmad came to Mandu during the later days of Ghiyath Shah. Of the products of the *Darul Hadith* of Mandu, the names of *Shaikh-ul-Muhaddithin* Sa'dullah al-Mandawi and *Maulana* 'Alim-ud-din al-Mandawi have been preserved for us [1]

That translation of Sanskrit works into Persian was also encouraged in Malwa may be safely deduced from the reference of the translation of Sanskrit work *Salihotra* into Persian during the reign of Ghiyath Shah The treatise deals in veterinary science and mentions the various breeds of horses, their blemishes, their desease and cure, diet and food etc [2] Among the secular writings, we find that Muhammad[3] bin Dau'd Alwi 'Shadiabadi' wrote commentaries on the *Diwan* of Persian poet Anwari at the command of Nasir Shah to whose court he had been admitted for his scholarship He also wrote a commentary on the *Diwan* of Khaqani. The reign of Nasir Shah also witnessed the production of *Ni'matnamah*, a book which contains a large number of recipes for preparing varieties of dishes. These examples clearly indicate that the scope of Persian writings was not confined to mere copying of religious books

B. PAINTING

The conquest of Malwa during the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji

[1] Muhammad Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*, pp 91, 92, 110

[2] *Rieu* II, p. 481, *Add* 14057.

[3] *Rieu*. II, p 556, *OR* 362; *Ethe*, II, Col 261

had produced a lull in the cultural activity, which lasted till the land once again recovered her individual political identity under Dilawar Khan Ghuri No doubt, the art of Malwa did not spontaneously arise the moment Dilawar Khan declared himself independent The energies of the State were devoted to more pressing needs of preservation and consolidation, and the only art that could claim the attention of Dilawar Khan and his son Hoshang Shah "were those which tended to outward display of sovereignty rather than intimate private enjoyment."[1]

During the period of lull, in western India as well as central and eastern India, a style was developed by the Jains to illustrate their *Kalpasutras* This style seems to have remained unprogressive which, in itself, was moribund and static.[2] But the social and political stability of Malwa under the able rule of Hoshang Shah and Mahmud Khalji give it a fresh impetus and revived its vitality As early as 1439 A D , a *Kalpasutra* was painted in Mandu under the patronage of Mahmud Khalji.

THE STYLE OF MANDU KALPASUTRA

The text of the *Mandu Kalpasutra* is written in gold against a crimson ground, the page itself being divided into two halves by a vertical band containing floral motifs, of which the right-half generally contains the paintings Though extensive foreign influence is not displayed in *Mandu Kalpasutra*, the drawings of horses with arched neck and small head clearly indicate the indebtedness to Persian traditions, but "the extensive use of blue and gold believed to be the result of Persian contact is not found in these illustrations"[3] The figures, from an iconographical point of view, are similar to the western Indian Jain manuscripts inasmuch as the other eye in the profile figures are shown detached, but in general style they are different from the stereotyped patterns, and show careful draughtsmanship and elegant finish. The type of work evinced in *Mandu Kalpasutra*, according to Pramod Chandra, was confined to the richer classes who could afford the services of superior artists [4]

Though it is not definite whether the *Mandu Kalpasutra* started a new school at Mandu, but having been produced at the capital under royal patronage it seems to have exercised considerable

1 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 44
2 W G Archer, *Painting in India*, p 8
3 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p. 51
4 *Ibid*

influence towards the growth of a new style of Malwa. Many of its features can be discerned in a later manuscript painted at the same place under the patronage of the son and grandson of Mahmud Khalji. Of course the common features underwent modifications because of the process of assimilation with freshly arrived ideals of the Persian Turkman style of Shiraz[1] and the changed theme of the paintings

The idioms of *Mandu Kalpasutra* repeated later in *Ni'matnamah* can be summarised as .

(*i*) The pavilion design.
(*ii*) The sitting posture of royal persons
(*iii*) The drawing of breasts in two circles each cutting across the other.
(*iv*) The technique of depicting animals (cows and bulls).
(*v*) A slightly exaggerated rendering of the chest.

Sultan Mahmud Khalji I seems to have a sustained desire for promoting the art of painting and it is quite likely that in his reception of Jamal-ud-din Astrabadi in 1467 A D , the envoy of Abu Said Mirza of Herat, he intended to invite artists from Herat which was an important centre of art. However the extent of success of the Malwa Sultan in this direction is doubtful because he died in 1469 A.D and illustrations of this period are yet to be discovered Whatever position actual painting may have acquired, one thing is clear, that Mahmud Khalji by his policy of toleration of the Hindus had created an atmosphere of friendly relations between the Hindus and Muslims who maintained friendly relations with each other, and thereby created conditions for the blending of Muslim (Persian) and Indian (Jain) styles of painting. The results of this cross-fertilization is found in *Ni'matnamah* [2]

Ghiyath Shah, the son and successor of Mahmud Khalji, started a rule of peace and prosperity and as he encouraged all arts, it may be deduced that the art of painting was not neglected. Besides, if the stories of the collection of women from all parts,

[1] Turkman style of Shiraz derives its name from Turkman dynasties of *Qara Qoyunlu* (black sheep), and *Aq Qoyunlu* (white sheep) tribes who held their sway over Shiraz area from the fourteen fifties It is distinct from the Herat style because of its simplicity of idioms and lack of refinement in execution.

[2] H Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, India Office Library MS No 149 *Kitab-i-Ni'matnama-i-Nasirshahi*

even from Turkey and Abyssinia, are believed, we may safely assume that along with these 'human' merchandise some paintings, if not actually painters, might have also infiltrated into Malwa

The *Ni'matnamah* Manuscript of India Office Library contains a portion of the *Ni'matnamah* of Ghiyath Shah[1] and also *Ni'matnamah* of Nasir Shah and the entire work can be assigned to the first decade of the 16th century, at the latest. The paintings in this manuscript display heavy influence of the Turkman School of painting of Shiraz This influence might be due to the infiltration of some artists or paintings of Shiraz School during the reign of Ghiyath Shah, or as suggested by Richard Ettinghausen, might be due to the "disastrous defeat of the white sheep Turkmans by Isma'il in 1502 A.D which might have brought a refugee artist into India whose style was then instrumental in the creation of *Ni'matnamah*."[2] During the reign of Nasir Shah another manuscript, *Bostan* of Sadi was also written and illustrated in Mandu, not in the Shiraz School but in the Herat School, by one *Haji* Mahmud as the painter and Shahsuwar as the scribe.[3]

The Herat School of painting as evinced in the Mandu *Bostan* of Sadi, failed to exercise any marked influence on Mandu painting except "that one idiom—that of a rectangular band filled with floral scroll—became a permanent feature in Malwa painting."[4] Even this idiom in later Malwa painting, according to Richard Ettinghausen, became a decorative feature with no specific meaning or function, because, though originally they represented carpets spread indoors, they now began to be used even in outdoor scenes. Contrary to the Herat School, the Turkman paintings of Shiraz were simpler in qualities and had only a few oft-repeated clitches which made them easier for the artist brought up in Jain traditions, to adopt,[33] a factor which to a certain measure explains the domination of Shiraz style in the paintings of *Ni'matnamah* in particular and of Malwa in general.

Paintings in *Ni'matnamah* certainly mark the birth of a new

1 Robert Skelton, *Marg*, XII, No. 3, pp. 45, 46

2 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 42

3 W. G Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, p. 3, *A Guide of the National Museum*, Delhi, 1956, p. 31 No 5, *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 42

4 W G. Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, p 3

5 Robert Skelton, *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 46

style which may conveniently be designated as Malwa painting. It is an outcome of cross-fertilization of the idioms found in the *Mandu Kalpasutra* of the Jain type and Turkman style of Shiraz. Regarding the artists who painted the *Ni'matnamah*, Archer believes that "we do not know whether they were Persian artists living in India" or Indian artists trained in the Turkman Shirazi technique [1] The two different artists, who painted the *Ni'matnamah*, have for the purpose convenience been designated by Robert Skelton as artists A and B Of these two artists, according to Robert Skelton, artist A was probably recruited from some such artist family well-versed in Jain *Kalpasutra* style but subjected to Shiraz discipline, and artist B may also have received training from a Persian master for although on the whole artist B follows artist A, he habitually settles for certain Turkman conventions that differ from those of artist A.[2]

COMMON IDIOMS FOUND IN MANDU KALPASUTRA AND NI'MATNAMAH

Some of the common points in the *Mandu Kalpasutra* and *Ni'matnamah* which in themselves are very interesting, also clearly illustrate the assimilation of elements of the indigenous and Shiraz School. Besides the common points already noted earlier, we may here specially mention the rendering of female figures in *Ni'matnamah* While the facial types has been derived from *Mandu Kalpasutra*, the pronounced angularity has been discarded In the treatment of the eyes, the curved eye lashes and wide open eyes have been retained in *Ni'matnamah*, but the protrudingly detached second eye has been given up The square-shaped heads, staring eyes, curving haunches and sharply jutting skirts are surely idioms derived from the indigenous western Indian painting. "Although many women appear as men in Persian dress, others are frankly Indian both in costume and physique." "Many poses of the girl attendants reveal an Indian delight in sumptuous form quite opposed to that of the boy-loving Persians."[3] Other elements such as vegetation, clustering herbage, formalized leaves, profuse grandeur, and clouds with their snake-like rims, according to Archer are basically derived from the Turkman Shirazi style of Persian painting Nevertheless the artist of *Ni'matnamah* display greater

1 W G Archer, *Indian Painting*, p 9, *Central Indian Painting*, p. 6
2 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 48.
3 W G. Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, p. 3; *Indian Painting*, p. 19

resourcefulness in using their observations, which is easily discernible in the painting of not only women form but also such trees as of mangoes which abound in Mandu. It clearly indicates that they need not have always relied upon Persian models in their drawings.[1]

Malwa painting entered yet another phase during the period 1536 A D. and 1561 A D. when Malwa once again regained her independence It is during this period that out of the Malwa tradition its greatest and most powerful style emerged The illustrations to the Sanskrit love poem—the *Chaurapanchasika*,[2] a version of an Awadhi romance—the *Laurchanda*[3] and a Ragini painting are the sole survivors of this style. In these paintings the square-shaped heads, large eyes, jutting veils and red backgrounds can be trace to *Mandu Kalpasutra* of Jain type, and just as the idioms of *Mandu Kalpasutra* are discernible in *Ni'matnamah*, the idioms developed in *Ni'matnamah* are obvious in these paintings. The women's jewellery, the arrow-like chevrons on eaves and pillars and the formalised trees are taken from *Ni'matnamah*, while the band of floral scroll-work marking the *Laur Chanda* are derived from the *Mandu Bostan* of Sadi.[4]

The theme of these paintings representing romantic passion mark a clear departure from Jain tradition of scripture stories and Persian manuscript of *Ni'matnamah*. For the reason this change in the theme and general character of these paintings it is best to quote Archer "The new style", writes Archer, "was nothing if not passionate Ladies were shown with provoking veils, sharply jutting noses, great romantic eyes and proudly cut physiques, while red backgrounds were used to symbolize their passionate desires There is a new air of the lithe vigour and majestic assurance. So revolutionary an achievement can only have been attained at the instance of a patron himself devoted to romantic love and in Baz Bahadur, Pathan prince and subsequent ruler of Malwa, we have a person exactly fitted for this role."[5]

THE LEGACY OF MALWA PAINTING

The Malwa style was so full of life that it survived against

1 Robert Skelton, *Marg*, XII, No. 3, p. 47
2 *Central Indian Painting*, p 4
3 *Ibid*
4 *Ibid.*, p. 4, Basil Gray, *Rajput Painting*, London, 1948, p. 3
5 *Ibid*, p 4

the more powerful rival in the Mughal painting Though the kingdom of Malwa was gone, its territories absorbed in the Mughal empire, but the traditions of Malwa painting continued to live in different centres, even when the political glory of Malwa had become a matter of memory

The influence of Malwa style is found in a group of pictures produced in Ahmadnagar to illustrate the love-poetry, where the profile of the women and the cut of their dresses are closely similar to those of the *Ni'matnamah* and indicate that it had become an idiom of Malwa painting and had spread to other centres [1] Similarly the basic stimulus underlying the Ragini paintings of Jaunpur of about A D. 1580, is once again the style of Malwa.[2] The origin of the series of Ragini paintings produced at Chawand near Udaipur (about 1605 A D.) can be easily discerned in Malwa, for its ways of rendering women, trees and vegetation are the outcome of the idoms first developed in the Malwa *Ni'matnamah*.[3] From Udaipur the style spread in about 1670 to the neighbouring Rajput state of Bundi where it resulted in further glamorous interpretations of romance [4]

Thus we find that the kingdom of Malwa left an enduring legacy to the culture and civilization of India, the importance of which can best be put in the words of W G Archer that "despite its varying dynasties, Malwa evoked some of the most vital developments in Indian art. Its early introduction of Persian styles supplied the standard Jain manner with invigorating idioms, its influence in this respect far pre-dating that of the Mughals Its parallel strands of painting imbued 'musical love-poetry' with glowing ardour. Above all, its supreme glory, the style associated with Baz Bahadur, represented the most adult expression in Indian painting of sophisticated romance It was painting of this kind which laid the foundations of Rajput painting in Mewar and produced the virile compositions which exhilarate Indian minds today."[5]

[1] W G Archer, *Indian Painting*, p 10 The dates of these paintings are placed between A D 1560 and A D 1580. [2] *Ibid*

[3] W. G Archer, *Indian Painting*, p 10. According to Archer these illustrations were executed by a Muslim artist

[4] Plate VII, *Indian Painting*, W G Archer We can also find yet another example of Malwa style in another painting of *Rasik Priya* (1634 A D.) Vide, *Marg*, Vol IV, fig 15 facing p 15.

[5] W G Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, p 24.

Besides miniature painting, we find Mahmud Khalji I encouraging mural painting also. Shihab Hakim, the contemporary historian says, Mahmud caused the walls and roofs of his palace to be painted[1] in a beautiful fashion. Unfortunately we have no specimens yet discovered which could throw more light on the nature of these mural paintings.

C. ARCHITECTURE

The purpose of the present discussion is not to trace the history of architecture in Malwa Here we are more concerned with the cultural synthesis of the traditions of Malwa with the traditions brought by the Muslims who occupied Malwa and declared their independence founding thereby the independent Sultanate of Malwa. The scope of the discussion is therefore limited to the study of the salient features of the architecture as it was developed in Malwa.

Before the establishment of an independent Sultanate in the region, Malwa already had rich traditions in the art of building. The tradition had come down from the period of the Guptas and had been fully nurtured by the Paramars. The craftsmen of Malwa, therefore, not only remembered by rote the formulas codified in the *Silpa Shastras*, but by active engagement, generation after generation, in building temples, had become well-versed in the art of construction with its incidental crafts of stone carving, carpentry and the mixing of the mortars. "The general impress of the Gupta and the early medieval styles of temple building, that is to say, massiveness as a characteristic of architecture, was well understood by them. Also, they were adepts in the heroic engineering skill of placing stone upon stone upto terrific heights reached by the *Sikharas*. And they knew how to integrate a building with decorative aspects in an organic manner."[2]

With the establishment of the independent Sultanate of Malwa the country witnessed once more restoration of peace and order. While the energies of Dilawar Khan and Hoshang Shah were directed towards nourishing the fortunes of an infant state, they could not altogether neglect the outward display of sovereignty. Therefore, for this purpose they started construction of buildings which would display their grandeur

1 *Ma'thir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 149b.
2 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 8

and at the same time afford opportunities to local people to work.

There can be no denying of the fact that Muslim Monuments of Malwa, when casually viewed, resemble in many of their forms, decorative motifs and structural practices with the Dehli Imperial style of the Tughlaqs and the Lodis.[1] But when critically examined, they bear evidence of the process of fusion of the local traditions and the ideas brought from Dehli which have lent to them a distinctive character of their own. Malwa architecture is a product of the soil.[2] "Here some of the loveliest buildings of Indian architecture were erected, bequeathing to posterity many examples of the well-known truth about the absorption by the Indian people of the most of the alien impulses physically and mentally "[3]

The development of the Malwa style of architecture took place at Dhar and Mandu, and the scattered ruins of buildings at other places are more or less repetition of the Mandu experiences The first phase of this development constitutes the period when only mosques were built at Dhar and Mandu out of the material available from the ruins of temples and constructed mostly by local architects, well-acquainted with their traditions but not yet fully initiated in the practices of Dehli. In the first phase, therefore, we may include the Kamal Maula Masjid[4] (A.D 1395) and the Lat Masjid (A.D. 1405)[5] at Dhar and Dilawar Khan's Masjid[6] (A D 1405) and the mosque of Malik

[1] Marshall, *C.H.I* Vol. III, p 617, Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 62, Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp 540-44.

[2] S. Saraswati, *The Delhi Sultanate* (Vidya Bhawan), p. 702, writes, "It would be wrong, however, to describe the Muslim monuments of Malwa as slavish imitations of Delhi The elements and features borrowed from the different phases of the Imperial style were skilfully integrated into balanced and unified compositions, noble and distinctive in their appearance "

[3] *Marg*, XII, No 3, p 9

[4] About this mosque Barnes writes, "An inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure It is dated 795 A H /1395 A D *i e* prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah son of Firuz Tughlaq the small and ancient mosque at Dhar which had fallen into ruins through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Fahk Dilawar Khan." Vide, *Jr. B.B.R A S* XXI, 1900-02, p. 349, fn 1.

[5] *C H I* III, p 618, *Brown*, p. 60; *Fergusson*, p 247

[6] *Yazdani*, pp 74, 75, *C H.I* III, p 618, *Broun*, p. 60.

Mughith[1] (A.D. 1452) at Mandu In the Lal Masjid which contains a large number of pillars, no attempt has been made to conceal their Hindu origin or form. But it is wrong to assume that they were collected after demolishing temples by Dilawar Khan The reason is simple Malwa was conquered by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji in A.D 1305 Muhammad Tughlaq constructed the fort at Dhar, it was in Dhar that 'Aziz Himmar brought severe punishment upon the *Amiran-i-Sadah* For some time portions of Malwa were included in the Bahmini Kingdom. Thus we find that Malwa was under Muslim rule for about a century prior to A D 1405 and the demolition would have taken place in the earlier stages. Certainly the earlier Muslim governors would not leave temples intact in the hope that a century later Dilawar Khan would establish an independent kingdom of Malwa and pull down the temples for his need.

The attempt at integration can be noticed even at this early stage where, in between the pillars, pointed arches have been constructed No doubt the Hindu and the Muslim influence could be merely juxtaposed in Dilawar Khan's Masjid, but the effect is not altogether displeasing. "Because of their lightness, these arch-shapes seem to spring from the pillars with an aerial grace and lend to the hall a subtle and refined appearance."[2]

With the shifting of the capital from Dhar to Mandu under Hoshang Shah, the architectural development of Malwa entered into the second phase The buildings of the second phase clearly indicate a complete fusion and assimilation of the Hindu and the Muslim influences. With Mandu as capital the builders were provided with a natural beauty which they could ut lise if they so desired in the composition of their buildings "The sylvan glades, the sudden visions of mountain and rock with changing colours, under the suns and moons, gav the whole landscape the magical aspect of a fairy and."[3] In such a fairy land the aesthetic sense was bound to develop, and the aesthetics

1 *Yazdani*, pp 82-86, *C H I.* III, p. 620, *Brown*, pp 60-61, Luard, *Dhar and Mandu*, p 23 Luard makes the following observation, "It bears an inscription on the east gate which states that it was erected on Friday, 4th *Rajab* 835 or 7th March 1432 A D by *Masnad-i-'Ali* Mughithuddin-wa ud duniya Ulugh A'zam Humayun, the khan of seven climes and nine regions (*i e* whole world)."

2 Saraswati, *Delhi Sultanate*, p 703

3 *Marg*, XII, No 3, p. 14

of the buildings are marked in their construction where they stand in perfect harmony with the nature. The architects of Mandu certainly deserve admiration for the selection of sites and full utilisation of such natural beauty as sheet of water or green surroundings to serve as background for their buildings

The first building to be constructed in the second phase was the Jama Masjid, the construction of which was started by Hoshang Shah and was completed in the reign of Mahmud Khalji I in 858 AH / 1454 AD[1] The mosque stands on a plinth 15 ft high[2] and is approached from the eastern facade through an entrance hall which stands projected from the main building with a plinth of equal height, with a further projection of wide flights of steps The eastern side of the plinth contains the arched chambers built for the visitors and for the staff of the mosque The conception of the ground plan is really remarkable That the high plinth and projected flight of steps were an outcome of the influence of the Chandela temples is a possibility which cannot be ruled out altogether

The eastern facade is somewhat grim, with a few bands of carved masonry and two borders of ornamental arches—one above the drip-stones and the other just at the top as relieving features. The grimness was further softened by use of coloured tiles set in the top ornamental arches. The eastern door of the entrance hall was provided with marble jambs and lintel with beautiful carvings along its sides. "Above the doorway is the outline of an arch executed in relief, and higher up is an arched oriel of very fine proportions There are beautiful rosettes in the spandrels, and although the ornamentation has been done sparingly, it exhibits excellent taste."[3] The entrance hall from within is sober and yet beautiful The sense of robustness has been achieved by means of a dome and beautiful *jali* screen which permits enough of subdued light to enliven the interior The door on the western side of the hall leading into arched verandah

[1] *Mandu, the City of Joy*, pp 50, 51; Luard, *Dhar and Mandu*, p 24; *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 98a For inscription see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, pp 22-23.

[2] The details of measurements and construction have been carefully avoided in the present discussion, as they are available in that excellent monograph on Mandu by G Yazdani The present discussion is confined to salient features alone

[3] Yazdani, *Mandu, the City of Joy*, pp. 52, 53.

of the mosque is in trabeate style with an arch built above it, the head being filled with fine tracery.

The mosque itself consists of a liwan, a square courtyard and the sanctuary. From the courtyard the liwan and the sanctuary present a panaromic view of arches and domes. This arched colonnade is three aisles deep in the northern and southern sides and two aisles deep in the eastern side, while on the western side it is five aisles deep.[1] The difference in aisles in the western and eastern side contribute to the formation of a square courtyard, the sides of which measures 162 ft. Through the judicious use of pillars and arches, the architect solved the problem of strength without sacrificing the element of grace The third line of arches of the prayer hall is double, and similarly the third, seventh, tenth and fourteenth lines of that colonnade running east to west[2] By this ingenuity, a double row of arches was secured to provide ample support for the three large domes surmounted over the prayer hall At the corners where these double line of arches meet, the pillars supporting them occur in clusters of four and indeed look picturesque. The entire roof structure was devised by constructing small cylindrical cupolas over the spaces formed by the arches over the pillars, which run all round the courtyard At each extremity of the prayer hall below the large side domes, is an upper apartment supported by nine rather dwarfish columns The western wall of the prayer hall is provided with seventeen nitches of which the central one is larger and deeper and constitutes the *Mihrab*. The salient feature of these nitches worth noting is carvings of Hindu design[3] worked out in polished black stone jambs. The *Mimbar* (pulpit) is eleven steps high and has domed canopy of white marble supported on four arches. The barackets and the balustrades of the *Mimber* are executed in marked Hindu style as obtained in the Hindu temples of ninth and tenth centuries. The total effect of this combination is that of richness in simplicity. Though the building does not contain much ornamentation, the element of grace and dignity has been achieved by means of balance and measured movement with perfect punctuation obtained through judicious use of "the constituent elements of

[1] Yazdani, *Loc Cit*, p 53, Saraswati, *Loc Cit*, p 704, Brown, *Loc Cit*, p 65

[2] Yazdani, *Loc Cit*, p. 53

[3] *Ibid*, p 55.

graceful lines, curves and planes."[1] "The whole building achieves a certain uniqueness by the judicious disposition of the Hindu convexes and Muslim concaves, and the general effect of the shadows of the arcades is to suggest prolonged silences, where the accent of the prayers might be heard like echoes, deep and musical, lulling the worshippers into the sense of the divine, almost as in the *Garbhagriha*."[2]

The next building started by Hoshang Shah and finished by Mahmud Khalji[3] is the tomb of Hoshang Shah. Hoshang Shah conceived the mausoleum in his own life-time and supervised its construction to some stages The building is the first construction of tomb where the lay-out of an enclosure to balance with the main structure was conceived and executed. The tomb stands in the centre of a square enclosure,[4] adjacent to the western wall of Jama Masjid, having two pavements running along the wall on the northern and the southern sides and faced with red sandstone. In the middle of the court on a raised square marble platform with sides measuring 100 ft. with a height of 6 ft. 6 inches from the ground, stands the main structure of the tomb. The ascent to this platform and main entrance into the tomb is from south, and on this platform leaving a clear space of 14 ft all-round spring the walls of the tomb. The conception of the tomb of Hoshang Shah marks a new departure, for it was the first great tomb in India made wholly of white marble.[5] The wall of the building suffers nowhere from monotony, because the surface of the wall rising 31 ft. 6 inches from the plinth is diversified first by a stylobate (2-1/2ft. high) and higher up by horizontal bands of masonry and by a *chhajja* with pleasantly curved brackets and above the *chhajja* by a neat band of ornamental miniature arches carved in relief.[6] The entrance to the tomb chamber is through a door on the southern side The door itself is remarkable in its grace achieved through right proportion and balanced on either side by perforated screens of geometric design. Along the sides and on the top is a beautiful band of half-opened lotus. Above the door is an ornamental parapet and below that blue enamel stars set in

[1] Saraswati, *Loc. Cit*, p 704.
[2] *Marg*, XII, No. 3, p. 15.
[3] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 100a
[4] The enclosure measures 227 ft 3 inches in length and 219 ft 6 inches in breadth
[5] *C.H I* III, p. 620
[6] Yazdani, *Loc. Cit.*, p. 46.

the masonry To permit sufficient light into the interior, perforated screens are provided in the three remaining side walls on the north, east and west. The northern screened windows wonderfully balance with the southern openings The interior of the hall at once attracts notice by its solemn calm The architect achieved grace by judicious use of technique, constructing high arches at four corners and higher up squinches, then the base of the dome and finally the dome. The rim of the dome is decorated with several bands of mouldings one of which is composed of ornamental arches with a background of blue *lapis-lazuli* enamel Thus the sum total of the effect created by the building is one of respect and not a feeling of depression, but an exhilaration of grandeur in death

The western extremity of the enclosure also deserves special notice On this side a colonnade, three aisles deep, runs from north end to south end with a narrow rectangular hall at the back and a smaller hall at each end. The pillars of the colonnade which near the base are four-sided pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh Mukh* or horned-head. Over the entwined leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.[1] These pillars are not spoils of temples as it was once supposed by Fergusson, but specially made for the purpose

The mausoleum of Hoshang Shah with a perfect assimilation of Hindu and Muslim forms stands as a synthesis of the two cultures The existence of the colonnade entirely in Hindu style reflects the spirit of the monarch, for whom there was no distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects The mausoleum not only very soon became a place of pilgrimage where *urs* was annually held, but also as a piece of architecture it enjoyed such a high reputation that four of the architects of Shah Jahan visited the mausoleum of Hoshang Shah As a mark of their reverence to the master-builders of the place, they carved out an inscription on the right jamb of the door.[2]

[1] *Jr B B.R A S* XIX, p 165, Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, p 543, Yazdani, *Loc Cit*, pp 49, 50; Luard, *Dhar and Mandu*, p 25

[2] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, p 23 The inscription has been

(*Continued on next page*)

Mahmud Khalji built quite a number of buildings but unfortunately none exists in a state of preservation so as to enable a full appraisement of his buildings The buildings of Mahmud Khalji have a collective name known as the *Madrasah* or the *Asharfi Mahal* It contains the *madrasah*, the tomb and the victory tower The material used is red sandstone, and the whole style suggests a refinement brought in by the Khalji Sultan The mausoleum of Mahmud is in greater ruin though it once had a large dome and a great hall executed in white marble and tastefully embellished with carved door-ways, windows and cornices and decorations in mosaics of choice stones, and freizes of blue and yellow glaze [1] Mahmud had invited a large number of architects from different parts[2] and it seems that these builders could not combine their technique of building with the result that the buildings soon crumbled down

The tower of victory which had seven[3] storeys, is left with only one storey rising 32 feet above ground with a circumference of 150 ft at the base It was built in red sandstone with four balconies projecting over a marble string course with inlay work of marble of various colours, which marked the beginning of each storey

Two other buildings associated with the second or the classical phase are for residential purpose and are, therefore, located elsewhere in the residential quarters of the plateau away from the religious group of buildings They are the Hindola Mahal and the Jahaz Mahal. Hindola Mahal or the audience hall is associated with the name of Hoshang Shah, though it is not certain whether it was completed in his life-time or later during the reign of Mahmud Khalji The T shaped plan of the building or the pattern of single cruciform is interesting in itself The battered sloping thick walls remind one of Tughlaq buildings

(*Continued from pre-page*)

translated by Yazdani thus "On the 9th of *Rabi'I*, 1070 H (14 December, 1659 A D), the humble votary Lutfu'llah, son of Master (Ustad) Ahmad, Architect of Shahjahan, Khwajah Jadu Rai, Master Sheo Ram and Master Hamid, came to show our reverence and wrote these few words by way of record" Vide, Yazdani, *Loc Cit*, p 48, fn 1

1 *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-4, p 34

2 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols. 108b-110a

3 *Ibid*, fol. 108b, *Firishta*, II, p. 488 According to Firishta, the foundation was laid in the end of *Zilhijja* 846 A H./April, 1443 A.D, Brown, *Loc. Cit.*, p 66; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-4, pp. 37-39

but with their inclination of buttresses at an angle of 77 degree it seems that the intention was to create the illusion of the entire structure swaying. Regarding the roof of Hindola Mahal, Creswell has opined that in view of the tremendous abutment it seems that it was roofed by a series of barrel-vaults resting on the transverse arches [1] The building undoubtedly is massive, but the elegant windows with projected balcony over graceful brackets, and the beautiful sweep of the interior illuminated by means of windows above the side openings filled with fine tracery, produce a charm of its own and betrays nowhere lack of fine taste, though it represents the Malwa mode in its most decidedly stern and resolutely stable aspect [2]

The Jahaz Mahal[3] represents the climax of the classical period when the style began to tend towards "lightly elegant and fanciful mode." The Jahaz Mahal is a long double-storeyed building and stretches for about 360 feet along the side of Kapuri *Talao* and Munj *Talao* The selection of the site itself is wonderful as it adds to the aroma of the building and speaks well for the builders about their artistic taste both in execution and in composition In character, Jahaz Mahal is lively and entertaining and its surfaces are gay with friezes of brightly coloured glaze.[4] In construction of the components and the accessories, the architect had taken into full account the surroundings in which he was setting his building The interior arrangement consisting of pillared compartments, cool corridors and sumptuous bathing halls, clearly indicate that while purpose was the governing factor the element of beauty was not sacrificed; rather, on the contrary, by a judicious use of these very elements, he succeeded in creating a sense of comfort and pleasure. The architect has also used plaster as a softer material for the purpose of finish The exterior is well-balanced, with arcaded front, broad eaves and wide parapet displaying a repeating pattern

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 169

[2] Brown, *Loc Cit.*, p. 67

[3] *Ibid*, Brown suggests that the building was in all likelihood built by Mahmud Khalji; Yazdani *Loc Cit*, p 63. Yazdani, however, opines, "The exact date of the construction of the palace is not known, but the joyous spirit pervading the general style of the building is very characteristic of the reign of Ghiyath-ud-din and it is not unlikely that he built this delightful abode for his large *harem*"

[4] Brown, *Loc Cit*, p 68

of tiles "On the roof are various open pavilions, airy kiosks, and overhanging balconies all of an imaginative nature, the whole of which reflected in the still waters of the lake present a picture of no ordinary beauty."[1] Here in Jahaz Mahal the Hindu form and the Muslim form, if there is anything like that, have been so perfectly assimilated that we do not find any trace even of effort to harmonise and to blend them They are all one homogeneous whole announcing to the world, there is nothing like Hindu or like Muslim, it is all Malwi

Out of the refinements achieved in the classical phase there developed as a logical step the third phase which prevailed towards the end of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries. The established kingdom gave the rulers enough leisure to indulge in long drawn orgies of aesthetic enjoyment Under these conditions the buildings made took "the form of summer houses, palaces and pavilions, the ground floor of which usually consisted of a series of compartments grouped around a central courtyard graced with pools and fountains, while above were arcaded loggias roofed with fluted domes, the surface everywhere gorgeous with painted tiles."[2] The buildings of this period are all expressive of highly emotional life of the time, but as pieces of architecture they hardly contribute any thing fresh and at best may only be enumerated. First in order comes the so called Baz Bahadur's palace which actually was constructed by Sultan Nasir Shah,[3] and the large number of water basins and baths are quite in conformity with the description of his character. The next is Rupmati's pavilion which is located on the southern spur of the Mandu plateau and commanding the view of the Nimar plain which begins 1200 feet below from the base of Mandu hill. This was, in the first instance, built to serve as a watch tower, and later got

[1] Brown, *Loc Cit*, p 67, p 68. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] A Persian inscription is carved on the first gateway of the palace stating that the palace was built by Nasir Shah in 914 A H Yazdani, *Loc. Cit*, p. 93. Yazdani writes, "Here, above the arch of the entrance, a Persian inscription is carved, setting forth the fact that the palace was built by Nasir-ud-din in 914 H (A.D 1508) Baz Bahadur evidently took a fancy to the palace on account of its close proximity to the Riwa Kund. which must have been a place of frequent pilgrimage for his lady-love, the sweet Rupmati. Also, during his residence he probably made considerable extensions therein, so, despite the inscription, it will not be an error to associate the building with Baz Bahadur's name"

associated with the name of Rupmati Other buildings of this phase are the Nilkantha Palace, Chistikhan's Palace, Gada Shah's Shop and Gada Shah's House.

The sum total of the Malwa style of architecture can best be summarised in the words of Professor Saraswati. "The lofty plinth and the stately flights of ascending steps", writes Saraswati, "give a notable dignity and substance to these buildings, while the arcaded facades show a judicious distribution of solids and voids In the use of sandstone of a lovely red shade, freely picked up by marble and other kinds of tinted stones, and the embellishment by encaustic tiles to enliven the whole, the Mandu builders evinced a rare sense of colour, which takes a prominent part in the architectural scheme and forms an inseparable constituent in agreement with the pageantry of colour that meets the eye all around "[1]

The Malwa style as developed in Mandu during the classical period is found in the Kushak Mahal, a seven-storeyed building built by Mahmud Khalji in A.H. 848/A.D 1445 at Fathabad on the suburb of Chanderi, in which architectural treatment shows the Malwa style at its most vigorous stage Similarly the Jama Masjid at Chanderi also followed the Malwa tradition as evinced in Jama Masjid of Mandu. These buildings at Chanderi clearly indicate that Malwa style as developed in Mandu was not confined to Shadiabad alone, but was passing its experiences to the length and breadth of Malwa, which a more detailed survey of the various ruins at different places would establish with a greater amount of certainty.

The present discussion, however, may be closed with the following remark of Havell. "The difference in point of style between Malwa architecture and the contemporary Muhammadan styles in Gujarat and Jaunpur is that at Mandu and other places in Malwa the builders began to obtain the heights they wanted inside the mosques by joining the piers and columns with pointed arches, instead of by placing one column on the top of another, or by building two stories, as Hindus would have done We may agree with Fergusson in appreciating the effect of simple grandeur and expression of power which they obtained in this way, without denying to Indian builders the credit which is their due "[2]

1 Saraswati. *Loc Cit*, p 709.

2 E B Havell, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 65, 66

D. MUSIC IN MALWA

Music had a very prominent place in the social and the court life from ancient times, Vakpati Munja and Bhoja, the rulers of the Paramara Dynasty, were great musicians and liberally patronised music Though we do not precisely know the exact position that music occupied in the lives of the Muslim governors of Malwa but we can easily surmise that being not altogether devoid of the senses for its appreciation, they could not but be influenced by the contagion of music with which the land was surcharged Besides, the group dance, group music, solo performance accompanied by musical instruments was a regular feature of the court life of the Sultans of Dehli Even an orthodox sultan like Firuz Shah Tughlaq did not discourage music; on the contrary, we learn from Afif[1] that on the *'Id* day Firuz Shah used to listen to the performances of various musicians, both male and female, and also witnessed the performances of the dancers The governors who used to copy the sultan's court, therefore must not have overlooked this aspect particularly when it also afforded the best expression of sensuality

We have no reason to believe that with the establishment of an independent kingdom, while other aspects of court ceremonials received due recognition, music was left out On the contrary *Jashan* must have improved over the conditions prevalent during the regime of the governors Though we have no direct evidence to indicate the extent to which music flourished in Malwa during the reign of Dilawar Khan and Hoshang Shah, but from an account of the reign of Mahmud Khalji we may safely infer that the art had continued in the land

Shihab Hakim,[2] the court historian of Mahmud Khalji I while describing the marriage ceremony, says, "The singers and musicians came with their sweet and melodious voice; smart singers with *Bajar* and *Fani* and with *Daf* and *Chang* gave a rhythm and constant resonant melody all in tune. By the *Barbat* they produced a note which fully accompanied the *Chang*, the voice of the singers and the musical accompaniment was so sweet that it brought back life to the dead" Shihab Hakim's list of musical instruments includes the following : *Daf*, *Chang*, *Bajar*, *Fani*, *Barbat*, *Rubab*, *Nai*, *'Ud*, *Arghanun*

[1] Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, p 363
[2] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 122b

Regarding the art of dancing we may point out that the predominantly Indian style of dancing had been prevalent in India and the dancing girls were commonly called *Patars*. The dances were performed both solo and in groups [1]

Ghiyath Shah with his huge *harem* establishment paid special attention to the promotion of music. He collected musicians from all directions and also made arrangements that taking the aptitude into consideration the inmates of his *harem* should be taught the art of dancing and singing, or playing on the flute.[2] This training must have served as a great fillip to the art of music It not only encouraged new aspirants but also provided means to the masters of the art That music continued unabated during the reign of Nasir Shah can best be found from some of the paintings contained in the *Ni'matnamah Nasirshahi* where we find the sultan listening to musicians playing on string instruments and accompanied by others for beating the time.[3]

Mahmud Khalji II also had a large number of dancers and musicians in his *harem*, and by that time keeping of musicians and dancing girls had become a set pattern of the life of a courtier. Medini Rai, Salivahan, Silahdi and Puran Mal all are credited with maintaining large *harems* which included trained musicians and dancing girls.

This tradition of maintaining large establishment of courtesans for whom music was an essential qualification reached its culmination in the time of Baz Bahadur Baz Bahadur had a genuine craving for music. It was rather unfortunate that for a man of his taste and temperament he had to look after administration Baz Bahadur's achievements as a musician (*Sangitkar*) can be judged from an assessment of Abul Fazl While Abul Fazl has condemned Baz Bahadur as a ruler or as a man who refused to humbly lay down his arms before the Mughal forces, he is full of praise for him as a musician In the list of musicians of the court of Akbar, Abul Fazl has mentioned 36 names, but he had noted with regard only the names of Tan Sen and Baz Bahadur For Tan Sen he says, "A singer like him has not been in India for last thousand years", and for Baz Bahadur he says, "A singer without rival "[4]

That for Baz Bahadur music was a passion, a yearning of

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 123a
[2] *T A.* III, p 350
[3] *Ni'matnamah*, fol 185a
[4] *Ain.*, I (Tr), pp 681-2

heart is clearly borne out from an account of 'Umri. According to 'Umri, "He (Baz Bahdur) passed his days in the company of singers and musicians, and from the north and the south and the east and the west collected he them, both men and women, singers and chanters and players upon all instruments, on the *bin* and the *rabab* on the *nai* and the *surnai* on the *sarangi* and the *tambura* "[1]

It is really very disappointing that we do not know of any treatise on music written in Malwa during the period of its existence as an Independent kingdom, which certainly would have thrown more light on the mode of music practised in Malwa.

The name of Rupmati also deserves special mention, who, according to 'Umri, was herself a poet and an expert in the art, won great benefit also from the master of the art of music [2] Mr Crump opines that "Rupmati is still remembered as poetess and musician, and is credited with the invention of the *Bhup Kalyan Ragini*, a subordinate mode of Hindu music "[3]

If we pay any credit to local traditions we may accept that Baz Bahadur introduced a new mode of *Khyal* which was called *Baz Khani Khyal* and which was prevalent in Malwa till recent times.

Thus we find that of all the achievements, it is the achievement in the field of music that proved most enduring and has come down to us as a legacy of Malwa culture.

1 Crump, *Lady of the Lotus*, p 7 Crump, fn 17, p. 86 "*Bin* an instrument sometimes with five sometimes with six, main wires stretched over two guards which give a peculiar resonant note, *Rabab*, a stringed instrument played with a plectrum, *Nai* is the flute, *Surnai* is Pathan stringed instrument, *Tanbura* also a stringed instrument "

2 *Ibid*, p 47.

3 *Ibid*, p. 90, fn 61.

Chapter XVI

CONCLUSIONS

THE account contained in the preceding pages is a study mainly of the Political History of Medieval Malwa under the rule of Muslim Sultans, with a brief review of the cultural and economic aspects of the kingdom The kingdom passed through three distinct phases, *i e.* the formative period, the stable period and the period of decay.

The period of Ghuri rule was truly speaking the formative period Dilawar Khan Ghuri established the kingdom and laid down certain principles (not codified, of course) to serve as the basis for it. Instead of driving out the petty Rajput chiefs, he allowed them to continue in a condition so as to feel happy about the establishment of a separate kingdom He also encouraged fresh Rajput emigrants to come into Malwa and settle in such territories as had become deserted. His successor, Hoshang Shah, kept up the spirit of Dilawar Khan so far as the Rajputs were concerned Hoshang Shah, however, had to meet the Gujarat aggression in the very first year of his accession. Thus the state of Malwa in its infancy was made to realise the importance of keeping a vigilant watch over her neighbours, and also to find out ways and means of keeping them involved within their own territories This became the guiding principle of the foreign policy of the successful rulers of Malwa. Thus we find Hoshang Shah ever intent upon giving assistance to such feudatory chiefs of Gujarat as had any reason to be dissatisfied with their own suzerain. To increase the material resources of the state as well as to improve her military power, Hoshang Shah adopted a two-fold policy. He started reducing the Hindu chiefs of the east whose territories were rich in material wealth and were also the principal source of elephant supply.

To achieve a well-protected boundary Hoshang Shah considered it essential to establish his authority over Mandsaur and Gagraun, both of which he turned into strong buttresses against the growing Rajput power of Mewar. Hoshang Shah's relations with Kalpi and Khandesh were governed by his desire to use them as barriers against any possible aggrandisement by the kingdoms of Jaunpur and the Deccan The granting of shelter and

giving a *jagir* to Chonda, the elder brother of Rana Mokul of Chittor, was indeed a masterstroke of strategy by Hoshang Shah

With the coming of Mahmud Khalji on the throne, Malwa reached the zenith of her political power and entered into the phase which may be called the stable period Under his rule Malwa acquired a prominent place amongst the kingdoms of India By his constant struggle against Rana Kumbha, he did not give a free hand to the ruler of Mewar to augment his strength to the extent so as to become dangerous for the neighbouring kingdoms. His attitude towards the ruler of Champaner was a great balancing factor in maintaining stable relations with Gujarat By rendering timely assistance to the ruler of Champaner he saved this strong but small Rajput principality from annihilation and thus preserved a buffer between Malwa and Gujarat on the side from where direct attack was easiest His assistance to Nasir bin 'Abdul Qadir of Kalpi, Yusuf Khan of Hindaun and Muhammad Khan of Bayana and finally the occupation of Ajmer, not only created strong dependencies of Malwa but also enhanced his prestige so much that Bahlol Lodi felt no qualms of conscience to seek his assistance against Hussain Shah Sharqi. The occupation of Mandalgarh gave Malwa the possession of a strong position from where she could easily check Mewar from extending in the east With a strong military outpost at Ranthambhor, Malwa established a complete mastery over Harauti

By concluding treaties with the rulers of Gujarat, Jaunpur and Deccan Mahmud established the principle of resolving political differences by means of negotiations instead of settling them by means of arms The prestige of Mahmud and along with it that of Malwa reached such heights that Malwa received emissaries from Abu Said Mirza of Herat and the Khalifa of Egypt

Malwa under Ghiyath Shah remained peaceful and enjoyed the fruits of the hard labour as well as political far-sightedness of Mahmud I A period of peace no doubt made the people indolent but it led to increased cultural activities Thus what it lost in the field of politics it gained in the field of culture However, the peace policy without proper political outlook soon led to the absorption of smaller border states by the more ambitious rulers and shattered the faith that smaller border states had in their dependence on Malwa for protection Thus, on the

one hand, Malwa became exposed on all borders and, on the other, the petty chiefs became indifferent towards Malwa

The reign of Nasir Shah saw deterioration in the internal condition of Malwa The storm that he had raised towards the closing years of his father's reign, he could not suppress after his accession. Malwa began to suffer from party factionalism which he ultimately left as a legacy to his son. In his external policy, however, by avoiding all possible clashes, he saved Malwa from foreign invasion

With the accession of Mahmud II Malwa entered into the third phase, *i e* the period of decay. Mahmud II was not only a weak ruler but was also devoid of all wisdom. He at once allowed himself to become a puppet in the hands of self-seeking and incompetent courtiers. However, he was saved from coming to early grief by the Rajputs who had come and settled into Malwa during the previous reigns. These Rajputs proved their loyalty and rose to the occasion. Their leader, Medini Rai, succeeded in strengthening the administration and suppressing the male-factors. But Mahmud's foolishness in bringing the Gujarat ruler in aid for the destruction of the Rajputs, who were the real prop of the State, was the greatest blunder that a ruler could have committed Mahmud II was so blind to the political outlook that he completely failed to perceive that right from the foundation of the Malwa kingdom, Gujarat was ever intent to swallow this region Muzaffar II's occupation of Mandu and then returning it to Mahmud II throws some light on the political condition of which Muzaffar II was fully conscious. He realised that conquest of Malwa was one thing but annexation of the region was different. Annexation would at once lead to general resistance both by the Rajputs and the Muslim Amirs. The Rajput uprisings in its turn would give enough cause to Rana Sanga for interfering in the affairs of Malwa which might ultimately lead to war with Mewar for which Muzaffar Shah was certainly not prepared.

Muzaffar II's activities in Malwa, however, antagonised the Rajputs, who started setting up their own independent strongholds. Mahmud II's venture against Rana Sanga proved even more disastrous He was defeated, captured and imprisoned Like Muzaffar Shah, Rana Sanga too was not blind to the political condition that prevailed in Malwa Rana Sanga was also

conscious that annexation of Malwa would create hostility with Gujarat and involve him in that corner which, in its turn, would prevent him from his more ambitious designs on Dehli He, therefore, set Mahmud II at liberty but at the same time reduced Malwa and also created enough Rajput pockets in the region who naturally looked to him rather than to Mahmud. Thus we find Gagraun, Chanderi, Raisen, Mandsaur and Ranthambhor all turned into Rajput strong-holds These Rajput pockets of Malwa subsequently became so important that a ruler like Sher Shah considered it of utmost importance to reduce them lest they should offer a vantage point to the Mughals to return through that door

Mahmud II, however, failed to realise the precarious condition in which he existed His attempt to meddle in Gujarat politics not only brought him to grief but it also brought disaster to Malwa That Malwa managed to survive for another thirty years was because of two factors Firstly, during this period there was no power strong enough to consolidate the fragments into a well-knit empire. Secondly, a century and a quarter of independence had created elements in the region who were enthused with the ideas of political liberty, but hopelessly incapable of consolidating themselves into a power of some consequence

Thus, politically viewed, the kingdom of Malwa, occupying the most centrally situated position among the kingdoms of India during the fifteenth century, played quite an important role in the inter-state relations During the period when the kingdoms of Dehli, Jaunpur, Deccan, Gujarat and Mewar were consolidating their positions and expanding themselves with aspirations for occupying premier position, Malwa served as the balancing factor. By her military activities she became a cause of anxiety for all None of these kingdoms could freely launch on their process of territorial aggrandisement, and thus none of them could become so powerful as to occupy the imperial position

The cultural history of Malwa is extremely interesting as it fully reveals the genius of the people From the time of her foundation the rulers of Malwa followed a policy of toleration towards the Hindus Destruction of temples or desecration of the places of worship of the Hindus was a thing unknown in Malwa The result of this policy of toleration was that the

Hindus and the Muslims learned to live in peace with each other which in its turn provided them with maximum opportunity of mutual give and take Thus, in the social life of Malwa, a cultural synthesis took place which led the people to think of life in a light which we may call the 'Malwa Way' of life. The mutual influence of the two communities is quite noticeable in some aspects of their social life. The Rajputs of Malwa did not suffer from the social prejudices of the caste-ridden Hinduism. In their harems which they copied from the Muslims, they kept openly Muslim women without their caste or religion being polluted by undesirable touch of a *mlechha*. In spite of the religious colouring given by writers like Nizam-ud-Din and others following him, that the Muslims resented keeping of Muslim women by the Rajputs in their harems, we find the Rajputs keeping Muslim women in their harems upto the end of the kingdom of Malwa. In all probability the expressions of resentment are those of the historians rather than of the contemporary Muslims of Malwa The Muslims on their part had adopted some of the Rajput practices freely They unhesitatingly brushed their shoulders with the Rajputs in times of national emergency with no feelings of religious bitterness. Thus, in the defence of Mandu against Muzaffar Shah, quite a number of Muslims achieved martyrdom side by side with the Hindus Again in the defence of Raisen against Bahadur Shah we find Taj Khan siding with Lakshman and Silahdi We also find Taj Khan's preference for *Jauhar* over the ignominious surrender to Bahadur Shah who was a foreigner

The practice of *Jauhar*, though barbarous in itself, had so much influenced the Muslims in Malwa that we find Mahmud II, finding that the fall of Mandu was almost in sight, wanted to perform *Jauhar* by slaying all his women and children and then fighting to the last. Baz Bahadur, too, had given similar instructions though during the process, the arrival of Pir Muhammad and Adham Khan prevented its completion. The adoption of the *Jauhar* by the Muslims of Malwa indicates that they had imbibed the same values of honour which prevailed among the Rajputs. We may condemn *Jauhar* on ethical grounds, but in an age when women were considered as mere objects of pleasure and were possessed without any qualms of conscience by the victor, it certainly prevented them from becoming objects of lust and to lead a life of dumb suffering. That the Muslims in Malwa

developed the sense of honour for their women is a clear evidence of the fact that the two communities had come closer in their thought

In the fields of architecture, painting and music the synthesis is so great that differences are almost imperceptible The genius of Malwa culture, truly speaking lies in her ability to produce this synthesis In painting, no doubt, the technique of the Turkoman style of Shiraz is dominating throughout, but in its spirit it is typically Indian Unlike boy-loving Persians, the Mandu painters took delight in painting female forms with sumptuous curves which is typically an Indian mode Similarly in the use of colour they showed a marked preference for red tones instead of blue

In architecture, the corbel, lintel, pillar, bracket and capital —normally associated with Hindu buildings—have been so harmoniously blended with the arch and the dome that the distinction has almost disappeared The epigraphical evidences clearly indicate that in the construction of mosques, Hindu architects and masons were employed who, on their part, erected buildings with their own knowledge to suit the needs of their masters The excellence of their achievement can be gauged by the fact that four of the architects of Shahjahan came from Agra to Mandu to show their reverence to the master builders of the place

In the field of dance and music the synthesis was perfect While we find Persian musical instruments being mentioned, the rhythm and tune was Indian The *Ragas* and the *Ragnis* were used as medium of expression. In dancing we find the dancers keeping time with their feet instead of keeping it with their hand which was Persian mode. In fact Malwa became the homeland of music in Northern India and musicians like Baz Bahadur and Rupmati were only her finished products Thus, culturally viewed, the kingdom of Malwa helped in reviving and revitalising the rich cultural traditions of Malwa Here evolved a culture in which there was nothing like Hindu or Muslim but simply an integrated Malwa culture

APPENDIX A

THE SOURCES

THE object of the present study is to reconstruct the history of Malwa as an independent kingdom after the breakdown of the Sultanat of Dehli and prior to its incorporation into the Mughal Empire The present study is based entirely on the original sources some of which have not been utilised to the fullest extent so far. From all information available we find that only two histories were written in Malwa during the period of her existence as an independent kingdom, and one has to draw upon the histories written in the neighbouring kingdoms with whom Malwa had close relations It becomes therefore necessary to assess the value of the sources on the basis of which one may reconstruct the history of Medieval Malwa The present discussion, therefore, includes not only the assessment of important contemporary works but also a re-assessment of the well known chronicles of near-contemporary and later period in the light of the history of Malwa.

HISTORIES WRITTEN IN MALWA

MA'ATHIR-I-MAHMUDSHAHI is a contemporary history of Sultan Mahmud Khalji I who ruled in Malwa from A H. 839/A D. 1436 to A H 873/A.D. 1469 The title of the book is clearly mentioned by its author as *Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhi*[1] in the text, though the title page of the Bodleian manuscript (Elliot 237) is missing That 'Alī bin Maḥmūd al-Kirmānī known as Shihāb Hakīm is the author of this work is found in the body of the work[2] where he has clearly mentioned his full name and title Regarding the early life, education and the place of his birth we have hardly any information[3] and whatever little we know of him, we learn from his own narrative However, from his title al-Kirmānī we may deduce that he or his ancestors belonged to Kirmān Shihāb Ḥakīm says that he lived in Jaunpur before coming to Malwa, where he seems to have acquired some reputation as a scholar, because we learn from him that Sultan Mahmud Khalji I invited him to his court and had also extended his patronage to him.[4]

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol IIa
[2] *Ibid*, fol 5a
[3] *Ibid*, fol. 253b
[4] *Ibid*, fol 253b.

"When the king—lawmaker like Kaikhusrau and Jamshed, possessing grandeur like Alexander and Darius—out of benevolence and protection of the poor, issued orders containing encouragement and purporting to strengthen the laws of kindness and mercy, he promised this servant of the Royal patronage out of his excessive kindness"

That Shihāb Ḥakīm was considered useful by the ruler of Jaunpur can be deduced from his own statement that he could not leave Jaunpur in response to the invitation of the Malwi Sultan because of the ruler of Jaunpur[1] However, Shihāb Hakīm succeeded in leaving Jaunpur some time either towards the end of A H 869/A D 1465 or beginning of A H 870/A D 1465. and came first of all to Ranthambhor, where he met Shāhzāda Fidan Khān. From Ranthambhor he came to Shadiabad, but on learning that the Sultan was then encamsed at Azizābād he proceeded towards it It was at Azizābād[2] in A.H 870/A.D 1465-66 that Shihāb Hakīm had his first opportunity of meeting Sultan Mahmud Khalji Sultan Mahmud received him well and allowed him to attend his court, but some scholars who were jealous of his abilities created suspicion in the mind of the Sultan against him with the result that Sultan Mahmud became indifferent towards him At one place Shihāb Ḥakīm says

"The fire of jealousy was kindled in some of the prominent persons of the court and the foundations of friendship and the basis of love did not remain intact. The exposition of various unhappened vices changed the path of kindness and the course of benevolence of the king, and sprinkled dust on the path of endless kindness and places of excessive bounty of the king"[3]

After settling the affairs of Bairāgarh when Sultan Mahmūd returned from Azizābād to Shādiābād, Shihāb Ḥakīm also returned to the capital along with the royal camp At Shādiābād he seems to have made acquaintances and friends and it was at the residence of Shaikh 'Alā-ud-dawlā wa-din Muhammad that he met Shāhzādā Muḥammad known as Ghiyāth Shāh and got an opportunity to read out some of his writings to the prince Ghiyāth Shāh was very much impressed by him and being satisfied with his scholarship recommended his case to the Sultan

[1] *Ibid*, fols 6a, 254b
[2] *Ibid*, fol 6a
[3] *Ibid*, fol 7b

a ong with some passages from his compositions [1] Ghiyāth Shāh also made efforts to remove the doubts and suspicions from the mind of the Sultan which had been created by others.[2]

Shihāb Ḥakīm was fairly advanced in years, being about eighty-nine years of age when he first came to the court of Sultan Mahmud Khalji as he himself says that in A H. 872/A D. 1467-68, the year when he completed his work he was ninety one years of age [3]

"My age reached ninety-one years and the bodily constitution became totally disturbed."

That at such an advanced age he undertook the arduous journey of coming to Ranthambhor and then to Shadiabad and from there to Azizābād and then back again to Shādiābād indicates that Shihāb Hakīm, in spite of age, was in excellent health and must have been mentally very alert because of which Sultan Mahmūd entrusted to him the task of compiling the history of his reign

WHEN WAS *MA'ATHIR-I-MAHMUDSHAHI* WRITTEN [4]

According to Shihāb Hakīm *Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī* was an outcome of Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji's desire to compile a history of his reign for which purpose the task was entrusted to him by Sultān Maḥmūd himself [4]

Sachau and Ethé have erroneously concluded that the book was written "after the king's death at the command of his son and successor, Sultān Ghiyāth-al-duniyāh wā-aldīn Muḥammad' It seems that the cataloguers read fols 6b to 7b of the manuscript without going through the entire text and were misled by the adjectives used for Ghiyāth Shāh which are identical with those used for Sultan Mahmūd

While the error of Sachau and Ethé is understandable, theirs being only an attempt to locate the manuscript, it is a matter of great surprise that in a recent work[5]—which claims to have consulted the three known Mss. of this work belonging to (i) University Library Tubingen (ii) Bodleian Library, Oxford and (iii) The Library of King's college, Cambridge—it is maintained that "the author of whose antecedents much is not known,

1 *Ibid*, fol. 6b 2 *Ibid*, fol. 314a 3 *Ibid*, fol 6b

4 *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Sachau and Ethe, No 270 (Elliott 237) columns 143-54

5 *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol VI, p 752

was a court chronicler of the Khalji monarch and wrote the biography shortly after his patron's death at the command of the latter's successor, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Khalji. However, a full reading of the text yields a conclusion quite contrary to the views expressed by these scholars, and may be summarised as follows —

(i) We find that it was Sultan Mahmūd himself and not Ghiyāth Shāh who entrusted the work of writing the history of his reign to Shihāb Hakim [1]

(ii) Throughout the work Sultan Mahmūd Khalji has been addressed as a living king.[2]

(iii) The work was completed in one year's time

(iv) Towards the end of the book Shihab Hakim wishes Noah's age for Sultan Mahmūd which implies that he was living.[3]

(v) After completion of the book, Shihāb Hakīm talks of presenting the book to Sultan Mahmūd.[4]

(vi) From internal evidence we find that the narrative of events ends in the year 872 A.H. and that it says nothing about the death of Sultan Mahmūd Khalji I, which, if the book had been written during the reign of Ghiyāth Shāh, certainly would have been mentioned, if not also a summary or assessment of the achievements of Mahmūd Khalji. Since the manuscript is complete towards the end there is no ground for believing that some such statements have been lost [5]

(vii) Besides all these arguments, Shihāb Ḥakīm has made the issue absolutely clear without leaving scope for any doubt by giving the date of the completion of the work in a chronogram [6]

در تواریخ این تاریخ می جوئی نشان یکره آخر بشمر دین شه گردون رکاب"

In the chronogram دین شه گردون رکاب the letters yield 872 according to "Abjad" calculation, which also explains no incidents after A.H. 872 being narrated in the text.

[1] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fols 29a, 276b [2] *Ibid*, fol 311a
[3] *Ibid*, fol. 313b. [4] *Ibid*, fol. 311b
[5] That the book was started during Mahmud Shah's reign is amply borne out by other details of the book
[6] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*. fol. 315a

Thus taking all the evidence together we find that the book was written during the lifetime of Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī I and not after his death in the reign of his son and successor Sultan Ghiyāth Shāh The book was completed in A H 872/1467-68 A D. and Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī died in A H 873/A D 1469

SOURCE MATERIAL OF *MA'ĀTHIR-I-MAHMUDSHĀHI*

Shihāb Hakīm says, Maḥmūd Khaljī himself ordered the collection of all such papers which were to be used for compiling the history of his reign [1]

'Different folios, which were written previously and were lying with various persons, were all collected"

The missing portions of events from these papers were compiled afresh on the evidence of such persons who had been present during those events

"Whatever was left, was enquired from those people who were present at the time of their happening and who had witnessed the state of affairs with their own eyes"

After collection, all these narratives were put into order and then placed before the Sultan for his inspection and final correction [2]

"Story by story and event by event, after correcting more than once, were presented to the king who was pleased to study them. What convinced his fragrant mind, and no doubts were left about their authenticity, veracity and freedom from blemish, were indicated to be written"

The Sultan on inspection did make final corrections wherever he found ambiguity or contradiction and for these corrections he consulted trustworthy persons [3] Thus *Ma'āthar-i-Maḥmūd shāhī* had for its source material, all necessary state-papers and documents, and it is in a way an official history of the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī. As all the necessary material was provided by the Sultan, Shihāb Hakīm does not claim for himself the authorship of the book; on the contrary, he speaks of himself only as the compiler.[4] *Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī*, therefore, is the most contemporary history of the reign of Mahmūd Khaljī and though the author was not an eye-witness to most of the events narrated in his work, the material upon which he has

1 *Ibid.*, 10a.
2 *Ibid.*, fol. 10b.
3 *Ibid*, fol 10b.
4 *Ibid.*, fol. 10b

drawn was certainly authentic and bore the testimony of the Sultan himself

SHIHAB HAKIM'S APPROACH TO HISTORY

True history, according to Shihāb Ḥakīm, should be a correct and faithful narrative of the events Of course, history for Shihāb Hakīm was not meant for ordinary men, it was like a guide-book for the kings who could learn many lessons from the results of the past The stories of generosity, justice, good administration and conquests of various countries of the past kings tell how these virtues bring their reward It also tells what catastrophies fall as a result of misdeeds, mal-administration, cruelty and foolish acts These narratives pre-warn the readers i e the rulers about the results of their actions The wise, therefore, get warned and are thereby prevented from taking wrong steps [1]

SOME DEFECTS

Although Shihāb Hakīm professed that history should be correct and faithful narrative of events, yet we find him at many places overlooking the failures of Mahmūd Khalji in some of his military campaigns. Besides he is not free from his personal prejudices and seems to have had an embittered feeling towards the scholars of Malwa. In his entire narrative he does not supply us with the names of scholars and their achievements except mentioning the name of Shaikh 'Alā-ud-daulā at whose recommendation he met prince Ghiyāth Shāh. He also seems to have been weak at numerals and had carefully avoided giving figures of the army and similarly measurements of buildings and thus instead of being definite he remains contented at many places with mere pompous display of language over which he certainly displays a rare command.

VALUE AS A SOURCE MATERIAL

Whatever defects Shihāb Ḥakīm may have, his work *Ma'athir-i-Maḥmūdshāhī* undoubtedly is a mine of information which is not only important for the history of Malwa but also helpful in understanding the contemporary atmosphere both social and political While describing the events leading to a clash with the Bahmani kingdom, he has included a petition which was sent by the nobles of the Deccan against the atrocities of

[1] *Ibid*., fols 9 a 9b

Humāyun Shāh Bahmani. Among the various complaints, Shihāb Hakīm mentions that Humāyun Shāh had destroyed some Brahmans and some Hindu widows[1] which clearly indicates that such a conduct on the part of a Sultan was considered unlawful even though the sufferers were Hindus. The extensive account of the marriage of Prince Ghiyāth Shāh is full of such information that helps in forming a picture of economic conditions of the time The work is extremely rare and no one uptill-now has used it to the fullest extent.

TARIKH-I-NASIR SHAHI

The British Museum manuscript NO OR 1803 also called *Tārikh-ī-Nāṣir shāhī* in the subscription by the copyist is a history of the last years of the reign of Ghiyāth Shāh and the opening year of the reign of Nāsir Shāh It is believed to have been written during the reign of Nāsir Shāh by some courtier who very often addresses the Sultan as Sāhib-i-Qirān.

Tārikh-i-Nāṣirshāhī contains only a few facts and very few dates The author very often repeats the same narrative and that too practically in the same words At many places he unnecessarily describes the quality of the sword and spear of Nāsir Shāh without materially adding to the information The author unhesitatingly describes the qualities found in Nāsir Shāh and compares them with some of the qualities found in the prophet[2] He even compares the departure of Nāsir Shāh from Shādiābād Mandu with the *Hyrat* of the Prophet from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina).[3]

The book closes with the death of Sher Khan of Chanderi and the re-establishment of Nāsir Shāh's authority over the place. However with all its defects *Tārīkh-i-Nāṣrshāhī* supplies some valuable information on certain points For example, it clearly states that Ghiyāth Shāh relinquished the reins of administration after having ruled for twenty years

Baini Prashad is of the opinion that this was the book which was used by Nizām-ud Dīn Ahmad in compiling his *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*.[4] That Baini Prashad is not far from the truth is borne out by a very close similarity in the narrative of Nizām-ud-Din Ahmad and *the Tārīkh-i-Nāsirshāhī*.

[1] *Ibid.*, fols 215 b - 217a
[2] *OR*, 1803, fol. 12a.
[3] *Ibid*, fol 12b
[4] *T* A. III, (Tr.) Preface, p. XXX

CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORKS

TARIKH-I-MUHAMMADI

Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī* was the son of Muhammad Bihāmad Khān who was granted the *iqtā'* of Erachh by Junaid Khān bin Firuz Khān bin Tājuddin Turk Muhammad Bihāmad Khān had spent his earlier days under the protection of Firuz Khān bin Tājuddin Turk and thus was one of the partisans in the party politics of Dehli following the death of Firuz Shah Tughlaq Bihāmad Khān and his son Bihāmad Khānī later played an important part in the kingdom of Kalpi Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī was therefore contemporary with the events from the rise of Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Firuz Tughlaq to the incidents connected with the history of Kalpi and much of the narrative for this period is from his personal experience.

Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī covers a very long period as it traces the history from the time of the Prophet Muhammad down to A.H 842/A D. 1438-39. The incidents connected with the successors of Firuz Shah Tughlaq and those pertaining to the kingdom of Kalpi have been narrated at length Thus it is extremely valuable in understanding the process of the disintegration of the Sultanat of Dehli leading to the foundation of the kingdom of Malwa For the earlier career of Dilāwar Khan and his activity in Dehli as a partisan of Prince Muhammad, *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī* is almost the only source Similarly in finding out the relation of Malwa with Kalpi and Jaunpur upto A.H 842/A.D. 1438-39 it is extremely useful and throws valuable light without which a proper analysis would have become extremely difficult if not impossible.

The references in the present work are from the Rotograph copy of MS. OR 137.

TABAQAT-I-AKBARI

Khawāja Nizām ud-Dīn Ahmad and his work *Tabuqāt-i-Akbarī* is well known and hardly needs any introduction. Though the successful career of Nizām-ud-Dīn suddenly came to a close by his untimely death at the age of 45 on 23rd *Safar* 1003 A.H./ Nov. 7, 1594 A.D , he had already achieved distinction as an administrator and at his death held the office of Mīr Bakhshī. Sometimes about 996/1587-88 he had been appointed to look after the *Khālsā* lands in the provinces of Ajmer, Gujarat and

Malwa Thus we find that he had had the opportunity of acquiring first hand knowledge of the land and people of Malwa

Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad was a straight forward writer and his narratives are a cut and dried analysis of facts, a quality that all the more enhances the value of his work In writing *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Nizam-ud-Din had utilised quite a large number of works which had been written prior to him and his list includes besides *Akbar Nāmā*, twenty-eight other works About *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* Dr Bami Prashad writes, "It was the first comprehensive work which dealt with the history of India to the exclusion of the other Asiatic countries, and in which the histories of different provinces were dealt in a strict historical sequence It must also be remembered that the author was primarily a court official, an administrator and a soldier not a *waqiat-navis* or a court historian Historical work was with him a labour of love and being an officer with other more pressing duties, this was carried out by him with the help of his proteges under very unsettled conditions of life His work also must not be judged by the modern standards"

The value of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* as a source book for the history of Malwa rests mainly on two grounds Firstly, it is the earliest attempt by a person with historical discipline to write the history of medieval Malwa, secondly, much of the source material used by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad is not available

A close comparison of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Ma'āthur-i-Maḥmūdshāhī* of Shihāb Hakīm leads me to conclude that he used this work for constructing the history of Malwa during the reigns of Hoshang Shāh, Muhammad Ghūri and Mahmūd Khalji I and one of the *Maḥmūdshāhīs* referred by Nizam-ud-Din might be in reality *Ma'āthu-i-Maḥmūdshāhī*

TARIKH-I-FIRISHTĀ OR GULSHAN-I-IBRAHIMI

Tārīkh-i-Firishtā is the popular title of the book written by Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Astrābādī generally known as Firishtā *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* has received maximum attention from all modern writers and it is a matter of common knowledge that European writers had extensively drawn upon this work Firishtā completed his work in A H 1015/A D 1606-7 and dedicated it to Ibrāhim Ādil Shāh

For a history of Malwa, Firishtā's work has a special value Writing from the Deccan he had easier access to information,

particularly relating to Malwa and Deccan relations, which was not available to writers of the north Though Firishtā has borrowed extensively from Nizām-ud-Dīn, he used some other sources too He has also extensively quoted from *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* Firishtā follows a method of presenting his own view and then supplementing it with the views of others Thus he at once supplies a good deal of information, though in a scattered form No doubt Firishtā had collected and utilised a vast amount of source material which none of the historians of medieval India utilised

The method of writing the history of the provincial kingdoms separately as followed by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad and Firishtā has one great advantage, in as much as one may compare the narratives of the same incident in the respective sections of the two kingdoms and deduce one's own conclusions Both of them do not seem to have collated their statements made in the different sections, or they deliberately left them as they were, thereby presenting the respective views of the different kingdoms

In the present study, the lithographed edition from Bombay has been chiefly followed though Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, Text has also been compared

MIR'ĀT-I-SIKANDARI

By Shaikh Sikandar bin Muhammad 'urf Manjhū bin Akbar

Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī is a history of the Muslim kings of Gujarat from Zafar Khan (later Muzaffar Shāh I) to the death of Sultan Muzaffar III in 1591-92 The author Sikandar served under Mirzā 'Azīz Kokā during the Mughal campaigns against Muzaffar III Sikandar composed his *Mir'āt* while in the service of Emperor Jahangir and completed it in 1611 A.D., but it has been suggested[1] that he subsequently prepared a revised edition incorporating additional matter and touching up the language

Sikandar used many sources for writing the *Mir'āt* and has given the title of books whenever he quotes from them as authorities. This, in itself, enhances the value of the work. S.C. Misra and M.L Rahman, the editors of *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* published by the University of Baroda, have made an excellent study of the *Mir'āt* in their scholarly Introduction to it. Here

[1] *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, Introduction, p. 10.

I take the liberty of quoting from their assessment of the *Mir'āt*

Regarding the language and value of *Mir'āt* the editors say "On the whole Sikandar's way of writing was ornate but certainly not tiresome. He eschews the string of laudatory epithets which make court annalist like the authors of *Mahmūd-shāhī* and *Muzaffar shāhī* insufferable at places nor does he have their involved, convoluted style which makes it incumbent on the reader to "extract" meaning from their verbiage He is generally simple and even in his flighty moments which are not many, within meaningful limits "[1] "So far as political history, therefore, is concerned, the *Mir'at* certainly does not gain by comparison with the meticulous, factual Mughal histories like the *Tabaqat* and the *Gulshan* But when it comes to stories, anecdotes, sidelights on the history of this period, biographical vignettes, the *Mir'āt* is a class by itself."[2]

Though Nizām-ud-Din and Sikandar practically used the same sources, their approach to history has made the two works *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* different. Though it is primarily a history of Gujarat but it is of considerable help for a history of Malwa too This is more so because Malwa and Gujarat were closely connected with each other from the time of their foundation upto the end Besides, for a brief period Malwa had become a part of Gujarat under Bahādur Shāh On the whole *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* is one of the most valuable sources for the history of Malwa

ZAFAR-UL-WALIH BI MUZAFFAR WA-ALIH

By Abdallah Muhammad bin Omar al-Makki, al-Asafi, Ulughkhani

The author of *Zafar-ul-wālih* was born in Mekka about A D 1540. He came to India along with his father and settled at Ahmadabad in A.D. 1555 In 1559 he entered the service of his first master Muhammad Ulugh Khan the Abyssinian, a prominent noble and general in Gujarat In 1560 he rendered valuable assistance to his master in a battle near Baroda for which he was granted two villages by his master. In 1573 when Akbar occupied Gujarat, the author's father was appointed by the

[1] *Ibid*, p 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, p 13.

Emperor as administrator of the *waqf* dedicated to Mekka and Medina and our author was entrusted with the duty of carrying the money to its destination and there distributing it After his father's death in 1575 he entered the service of Saif-ul-Mulk, but after his mother's death in 1595 he entered the service of Fulad Khan, a noble of Khandesh, who died in 1605

"The original draft was probably completed in 1605 A D which is the latest date mentioned—but as many of the slips contain quotations from the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandrī*, which appeared in 1611 A D , we may presume that our author was still at work on his manuscript at that date [1]

Hājjī-ud-Dabīr primarily wrote a history of Gujarat but made some digressions from the main narrative, one of such digression happens to be a narrative of the Sultans of Malwa Being extremely impartial in his narrative we get a fair picture of the activities of the Malwa Sultans At many places he supplies valuable information and thus in more than one way supplements the information given by Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad and Firishtā His narrative of the role of Medini Rāi is very valuable and informative Though Hājjī-ud-Dabīr has not mentioned *Ma'āthir-i-Mahmūdshāhī*, but his narrative of the activities of Sultan Mahmud I in the regions of Khandwa, Sarguja, Raipur and Rattanpur between the years A.H 844 and 845/ 1440-42 A D. is so much in conformity with the narrative of Shihab Ḥakim that one may safely deduce *Ma āthir-i-Mahmūd shāhī* as one of the sources used by him *Zafar-ul-walih* therefore is a very useful book of source material for the history of Malwa

TARIKH-I-MUZAFFARSHAHI (B.M. Ms. Add. 26279)

Though the title claims it to be a history of Muzaffar Shah, it deals only with Muzaffar Shah II's siege and conquest of Mandu undertaken at the request of Mahmud II of Malwa who was tired of Rajput domination at his court.

The style of *Muzaffarshāhī*, no doubt is ornate, florid and verbose, but with all its defects it is still valuable. The writer seems to have accompanied Muzaffar Shah II to Malwa and has

[1] As given by E Denison Ross in Introduction pp. vii, viii to Vol I of *Zafar-ul-walih*. Hajji-ud-Dabir was the name given to him by his first master, Ulugh Khan

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recorded the events, dates and names of persons with great care

Tarīkh-i-Muzaffarshāhī forms the main source for constructing the history of the eventful year when Sultan Mahmud II brought foreign forces against his own country It is only on the basis of the *Mazaffarshāhī* that one can find an answer to the religious issue woven into the ascendency of Medini Rāi and thereby form a correct perspective

TARIKH-I-GUJARAT of Mir Abu Turāb Wali

Abu Turāb Wali belonged to a family of Saiyids of Shiraz His father, Shāh Qutbuddīn Shukrullah was a man of considerable importance in Gujarat and his grandfather known as Saiyid Shāh Mir had migrated to Gujarat during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddīn and ultimately settled in Champaner during the reign of Mahmūd Beagdā,

Shāh Qutbuddīn Shukrullah and Shah Kamāluddīn, the father and uncle of Mir Abu Turāb Wali had accompanied Sadr Khan in the final stage of treaty negotiations between Bahādur Shāh and Humayun when the latter besieged Mandu, and thus had acquired first hand information about the activities of Humayun in Malwa and Gujarat Mir Abu-Turab Wali also rose into prominence during the subsequent period

Tārikh-i-Gujarat is extremely valuable and informative for the history of Malwa during the period of Humayun's activity and occupation of Malwa At many places it serves as a corrective of the narratives given by others

BURHAN-I-MA'ATHIR

Saiyid 'Alī bin 'Azizullah Ṭabā Ṭabā, the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* completed his work in A H 1000/A D.1592 and dedicated his work to Burhan Nizām Shah of Ahmadnagar He traced the history of the Bahmanis during the Bidar and the Gulbarga period and the Nizāmshāhis of Ahmadnagar Later he added some more matter and brought the history upto A H 1004/ A D 1596

Though Saiyid Alī Ṭabā Ṭabā at many places uses his imagination without caring to examine properly his statements, yet his work, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* contains much information not to be found elsewhere Thus *Burhan-i-Ma'āthir* supplements the information of Firishta at many places In tracing the relations of Malwa and the Bahmani Kingdom *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* is of great help.

RIYAZ-UL-INSHA

Riyāz-ul-Inshā is a collection of letters of Khawja 'Imād-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Gāwān These letters are either those which were written by Mahmud Gawan at his own initiative or those written by him at the instance of the Sultan. The letters include the correspondence that took place between the Deccan and Malwa and Deccan and Gujarat during the reign of Mahmud Khalji These letters are very informative and are useful in tracing the relations of Mahmud Khalji I and the Deccan

A more comprehensive list of Persian and Arabic sources has been included in the Bibliography instead of giving their details in the present discussion

HINDI AND SANSKRIT WORKS

Malwa had such close relations with Rajputana that no proper study of Malwa is possible without looking into the history of the Rajputs. It becomes all the more necessary because the Muslim historians have completely overlooked the migration of princes from Mewar to Malwa, which on many occasions led to military activity of the Sultans. No doubt Rajputana abounds in *Khyāts* written by the bards, but the chief motive of the *Khyāt* composers being simply to glorify the deeds of their rulers, they often weave in stories and so much exaggerate small incidents that reality is driven farthest away from truth However, some of the *Khyāts* which were produced later by scholars and administrators are more of the nature of historical writings than the older *Khyats*. In this category we may mention the *Khyāt* of Muhnot Nainsi of Jodhpur.

ACHALDAS KHICHI RI VACHANIKA

Achaldās Khīchī rī Vachanikā,[1] written by Chāran Sivadās is the most contemporary work. The *Vachanikā* mainly deals with the defence of the fort of Gagraun by Achaldās Khīchī and its final conquest by Hoshang Shah. Charan Sivadas was a court poet of Achaldās Khīchī and had left the fort before its final conquest. The *Vachanikā* has also given the date of the conquest of the fort. The details of the expedition as given in the *Vachanikā* are not available elsewhere.

[1] *Achaldās Khīchī rī Vachanikā* has been published recently by 'Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner.

VIR VINOD

Kavirāj Shyāmaldāsji wrote this history of Mewar between 1879 and 1884 A.D and thus it is almost a modern compilation But Kaviraj Shyamaldas had the advantage of writing history after Tod had completed the *Annals*, and thus he could examine the mass of information supplied by Tod For compiling *Vir Vinod* a sum of one lakh of rupees was put at the disposal of Shyamaldas by the state of Mewar, who established the office of *Itihās-kāryālaya*, appointed for his assistance competent scholars in Sanskrit, English, Arabic and Persian etc and set about making a magnificent collection of inscriptions, copper-plates, coins, historical works in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English etc , besides old *pattahs, parwānās, firmāns, nishāns* and official correspondence Though Shyamaldasji wrote *Vir Vinod* as a task entrusted to him by the state, he never over looked the historical truth in the interest of the state so much so that in 1913 A D the Udaipur Darbar sealed up the printed copies of *Vir Vinod* and forbade its circulation even within the state.

Vir Vinod is a veritable mine of information as it is an outcome of masterly research. For tracing the relations of Malwa with Rajputana there is hardly any source better than it

JAIN SOURCES

Jains in Malwa also wrote a number of books, and a systematic and thorough search for these works may prove very helpful But the material available at present is still very megre to add substantially to the information contained elsewhere However of these Jain works mention may be made of *Sakal Tīrtha-stotra* of Siddhasena Surī, *Tirthamālā* of Saubhāgya Vijaya, *Sukrit Sāgar* of Ratnamandan Gani, *Mandapāchal Chaitya-paripāti* of Khem Rāj, *Kāvya Manohar* of Maheshwar Kavī, *Buddhi Sāgar* of Sangrām Singh Soni and *Vrihad Pausalika Pattāvali* While these sources do not help us in the field of political history, they do throw enough light to understand the religious and administrative policy of the Sultans of Malwa.

APPENDIX B

WAS MAHMUD KHALJI I IMPRISONED IN CHITTOR BY MAHARANA KUMBHA

HISTORIANS of Rajputana maintain that on Mahmud's refusal to hand over Ekka and Mahpa, Rana Kumbha with his maternal uncle Rana Ran Mal of Mandor invader Malwa Mahmud Khalji was first defeated at Sarangpur and then he was beseiged in Mandu. Mahmud Khalji could not hold his position long and capitulated, whereupon he was imprisoned and taken as captive to Chittor. After being imprisoned for six months he was released by Rana Kumbha without realising any tribute [1] While the tale of Mahmud's captivity has been dilated upon by the historians of Rajputana, we do not find the incident mentioned even indirectly by the Muslim historians. It becomes therefore necessary to discover, whether the Muslim historians have suppressed a fact or the Rajputana historians have been misled by some bardic recitation

According to Kaviraj Shyamal Das this battle of Sarangpur was fought in V.S 1496[2]/A.D. 1439 Ojha, however, rejects this date and assigns V S. 1494[3]/A.D. 1437 as the date of this battle of Sarangpur According to Ojha, Ran Mal who was then looking after the affairs of Chittor was present in the battle. Ran Mal was killed in V.S.1495, and Mahmud Khalji had ascended the throne in V.S. 1493/A.D. 1436, therefore this battle must have been fought between these two dates[4] i.e , sometimes in V.S. 1494/A.D. 1437.

Tod's version of the event is extremely confused and defective. Tod says, "In the midst of his (Kumbha's) prosperity these two states (Malwa and Guajarat) formed a league against him, and in V.S. 1496/A.D. 1440, both kings, at the head of powerful armies, invaded Mewar. Koombho (Kumbha) met them on the plains of Malwa bordering on his own state, and at the head of one hundred thousand horse and foot and fourteen hundred elephants, gave them an entire defeat, carrying captive to Cheetore (Chittor) Mahmud, the Ghilji sovereign of Malwa. Abul Fazil relates this victory, and dilates on

[1] *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 320.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, p. 319.
[3] Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, I, p. 598.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 598, fn. 2.

Koombho's greatness of soul in setting his enemy at liberty not only without ransom but with gifts "[1]

The league of the two states as mentioned by Tod did not take place in 1440 A D , but much later in 1451 A D during the reign of Qutbuddin. Regarding Abul Fazl's[2] praise of Kumbha's conduct we find him praising Rana Sanga and not Rana Kumbha

Sarda in his monograph on Maharana Kumbha has accepted the version as found in *Vir Vinod* without caring to examine it thoroughly Sards says, "As Mahpa Panwai was given shelter by the Sultan of Mandu, a demand for his person was made by the Maharana Sultan Mahmud, however, declined to surrender the refugee, pleading that it was against all notion of dignity and sovereignty to do so The Mahaiana thereupon prepared for hostilities and left Chittoi to attack Mandu The Sultan advanced with a powerful army to meet the Maharana."[3]

"Mahmud Khalji now asked Chonda to lead the Mandu army against Ran Mal, the commander of Mewar forces and take revenge for the murder of Raghavadeva. The patriotic Chonda replied that he would gladly have led the army against Ran Mal's Rathods but that it was against his *dharma* to take up arms against the Maharana Rather than stay at Mandu he retired to his Jagirs "[4]

"The two armies met in A.D. 1437 near Sarangpur After a severe engagement the Sultan's army was utterly routed. The Sultan fled and shut himself up in the fort of Mandu. Kumbha stormed and took the fort. Ran Mal captured Sultan Mahmud Khalji The Maharana returned to Chittor bringing the Sultan captive with him "[5]

"To commemorate this great victory, the Maharana built the great *Jaya Stambha* in the fortress of Chittor, which still adorns that far-famed strong-hold "

"Mahmud Khalji remained a prisoner in Chittor for a period of six months, after which he was liberated without ransom by the magnanimous Maharana Kumbha."[6]

Sarda is so much obsessed with the idea of Mahmud Khalji's imprisonment that he takes it for granted that Mahmud's

[1] *Tod*, I, p. 231. [2] *Ain.* II (Tr. Jarrett and Sarkar), p 230
[3] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p 49. [4] *Ibid* , p 50.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 51; *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XXIII, p. 112.
[6] Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 52.

subsequent attacks on Mewar were simply to wipe out this disgrace and to avenge his defeat Sarda says, "In A D 1443 Maharana Kumbha had to go to Hā-āvati to punish some rebels. Finding Mewar unprotected, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Mandu, who had been smarting under the shame of having been kept a prisoner in Chittor by Maharana Kumbha, and burning with a desire to take revenge and wipe off his disgrace of A D 1437, invaded Mewar "[1]

At another place Sarda says "Altogether five attempts were made by the Sultan (Mahmud Khalji) to wipe out his disgrace of A D 1437 but every time he was defeated by the Maharana "[2]

This story of Mahmud Khalji's imprisonment had found so much currency in Mewar that Erskine[3] while compiling the *Gazetteer* of Rajputana unhesitatingly included it in his narrative of the historical events

According to these versions Mahmud Khalji was defeated and imprisoned some times between A D. 1437 and A.D. 1439 To examine the validity of this statment we may examine the activities of Mahmud Khalji during this period

Mahmud's accession took place[4] on 29th *Shawwal* 839/14th May, 1436 A D It was followed by a conspiracy for his life in July-August 1436/840 A.H.[5] After the failure of the conspiracy Mahmud, on the advice of his father *A'zam Humayun* gave some *jagirs* to some of the prominent conspirators who represented the previous regime of the Ghuris The distribution of *jagirs*, however, did not quell the opposition at once. The new incumbents soon raised the standard of rebellion in their respective *jagirs*. Amongst these rebels there was also *Shahzada* Ahmad Khan son of Sultan Hoshang Shah. *A'zam Humayun* who was sent to quell these rebellions is found near Bhilsa on 17th *Ramazan* 840[6]/25-3-1437. While this process of subjugation was going on, Ahmad Shah Gujarati took up the cause of *Shahzada* Mas'ud Khan son of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, and invaded Malwa[7] in *Rajab*, 841/Jan. 1438. For a few months

[1] *Ibid.*, p 85. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[3] *Rajputanna Gazetteer*, II-A, *Mewar Residency*, p. 17. Erskine writes, "He (Kumbha) defeated Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, kept him prisoner at Chitor for six months and, in commemoration of this and other victories, erected the triumphal pillar (*Jai Stambha*) at the place last mentioned."

[4] *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 276 b.

[5] *Ibid*, fol. 66a [6] *Ibid*, fol. 68a. [7] *Ibid.*, fol. 73b.

he remained engaged in besieging the fort, and after fighting some indecisive skirmishes he shifted his camp to Ujjain Mahmud Khalji had also come out of Shadiabad Mandu and had moved towards Sarangpur, from where he marched against 'Umar Khan, another son of Hoshang Shah who had brought some aid from the Rana of Chittor, in the direction of Bhilsa. During this encounter 'Umar Khan was killed and very soon Sultan Ahmad Shah also returned to Gujarat[1] in 842/1438-39, promising Mas'ud Khan to come again next year. After the departure of Ahmad Shah Gujarati, Mahmud Khalji had gone for the final subjugation of Chanderi and remained there engaged for quite some time in reducing the fort After the final subjugation of Chanderi, Mahmud had gone towards Gwalior for the relief of Shahar Nau (Narwar) in response to the appeal of Bahar Khan the *Muqta'* of the place We are informed by the contemporary historian that Shahar Nau and its vicinities were being ravaged by Dungar Sen of Gwalior and Kumbha of Chittor.[2] Mahmud's attack on Gwalior had at once diverted the attention of Dungar Sen who immediately returned towards his own capital Mahmud avoiding all possible encounter with Dungar Sen arrived at Shahar Nau from where he returned to Shadiabad and started completion of the mausoleum of Hoshang Shah.

From a record of these events we find that Mahmud was present in Malwa during the years 1437, 1438, 1439 and 1440 i.e., the period when it is claimed that he had been imprisoned in Chittor During this period he was engaged in subjugation of rebellion as well as facing the invasion of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati Mahmud had ascended the throne by removing the successors of the house of the Ghuris and therefore earlier years of his reign were devoted to liquidating the opposition of the supporters of the Ghuris and also those who were jealous of his rise. *Shahzada* Mas'ud Khan had taken shelter in Gujarat and Ahmad Shah had promised to restore him to the throne of Malwa. Even if we place Mahmud's imprisonment after the death of *Shahzadas* Ahmad Khan and 'Umar Khan, *Shahzada* Mas'ud Khan was still living of and Ahmad Shah Gujarati was certainly not the person to miss such an opportunity offered by the absence of

[1] *Ibid.*, fol. 77a.
[2] *Ibid*, fol. 93b.

Mahmud Khalji and that too in disgrace as a prisoner in the hands of the Rajputs at Chittor.

For an usurper, because Mahmud had no other claim than usurpation, to be absent and to be imprisoned in another kingdom in the very beginning of his reign would have led the legitimists to set up a new king at once But we do not find anything of the kind happening in Malwa during these years.

Thus taking all the evidence into consideration we find that Mahmud was neither imprisoned by Rana Kumbha nor was he defeated during the years mentioned In fact during this period Mahmud Khalji avoided all possible encounter with the Rajputs. It is also significant that none of the contemporary Rajput epigraphs mention the imprisonment of Mahmud Khalji at the hands of Rana Kumbha The prevalence of such a story in Rajputana may have been due to the mistake of the bards who might have confused the imprisonment of Mahmud Khalji II in the hands of Rana Sanga with the name of Mahmud Khalji I, the two names being identical such a mistake is not very unlikely Thus the claim that Mahmud Khalji was imprisoned by Rana Kumbha lacks foundation

APPENDIX C

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE DAM OF BHOJ TAL BY HOSHANG SHAH

FROM the account of the contemporary historian Shihab Hakim[1] we find that when Sultan Hoshang was returning from Kalpi he received petitions, from the Muslim inhabitants of the region of Bhilsa, that the local chiefs living in the region and around *Hauz Bhim* often plundered them and gave them no respite to carry on peacefully the pursuits of cultivation The above statement indicates that the hilly region and the area of the lake made by the embankment and the adjoining lands were not yet subjugated by Hoshang Shah, and the chief of region, *i.e* , the foot of the Jatba hills,[2] as mentioned by Shihab Hakim, might have been a descendant of some governor of the Parmars of Malwa who was having his independent sway It was, therefore, natural for Hoshang Shah to think of reducing this area and the petition only gave him a cause to take action

This region had once formed an important part of the Kingdom of Bhoja Parmara Regarding the construction of the lake Cunningham[3] has observed that "Raja Bhoja was always bent upon accomplishing some good work and the Brahmins prescribed the erection of an embankment which should arrest nine rivers and ninety-nine rivulets,[4] probably with a view of providing irrigation for a tract of country lower down the river, A place was chosen where two of the main branches of the infant Betwa unite in order to pass through a narrow gorge about 18 miles south-east of Bhopal [5] A natural wall of hills enclosed the whole area except two gaps in width 100 yds and 500 yds respectively These were closed by gigantic dams made of earth faced on both sides with enormous blocks of sand stone, many being 4 ft long by 3 ft broad and 2-1/2 ft thick set without mortar The smaller dam is calculated to have been 44 ft high and 300 ft thick at the base the large dam 24 ft high with a flat top of 100 ft broad [6] Close to Bhojpur and east of the great

1 *Ma'athir-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol 41 b

2 *Ibid* fol. 43 b, see also *T A* and *Farishta* 3 *J A S B* XVI, p 740

4 Figures 9 and 90 are used just to suggest that it was not the last good work intended to be do which needs one more to complete.

5 *J A S B XVI*, p.740 6 *Bhopal Gazetteer*, p 94

dam was a waste weir cut out of the solid rock of one of the lower hills.[1] Cunningham observes that the lake would appear to have been sixteen or seventeen miles in length and about seven or eight miles in breadth, but after all the care and labour which had been expended, it was found that one stream was still wanting to complete the full number and Bhopal, the minister of the King, suggested the embankment of a ravine at a spot on which the city called after him now stands.[2] The entire work from its conception to its execution indicates the high standard of engineering skill achieved in India during the medieval ages

The lake or *Thal* or *Hauz* thus formed enclosed a low range of hillocks which formed a sort of island and can be still distinguished by the name Deep given to the village situated on the spot. The southern most point of this lake lay just south of Kaliakheri town which stands in what was formerly the bed of the lake, and its northern most at Dumkhera village near Bhopal city[3]. Regarding the size and extent of this lake the contemporary historian also says that its length and breadth were such that one bank was not visible from the other and its depth was unfathomable[4] Thus the statement of Shihab Hakim that the turbulent tribes took shelter in the reservoir of Bhim, indicates that island or Deep afforded an ideal shelter to the refractory chiefs. Hoshang Shah must have felt that without proper preparation it would not be possible for him to take any effective steps and therefore instead of taking action immediately he returned to Shadiabad Mandu.

Sultan Hoshang left Mandu in the beginning of A.D 1434 for *Hauz* Bhim with the intention of chastising these refractory chiefs. According to Shihab Hakim, Hoshang Shah destroyed the embankment of the rservoir and punished the people[5] From the account it is clear that Hoshang Shah felt it necessary to drain out the water before he could succeed in destroying the stronghold of the chiefs, and therefore ordered for the destruction of the lesser but the higher dam[6]

1 *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, p 348; *J A S B*. XVI, p 739, XVII, p. 885
2 *J A.S.B* XVI, p. 740.
3 *Bhopal Gazetteer*, p 94
4 *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 43b; *T A* III, p. 300
5 *Ma'athur-i-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 43b.
6 *Indian Antiquary*, XVII p. 350; *J.A S B* (New Series) XVI, 470, *Bhopal Gazetteer*, p 94.

Regarding the motive of Hoshang Shah in destroying the dam, Luard says that intentionally or in a fit of destructive passion Hoshang Shah added an enormous area of the highest fertility to his possession[1] Cunningham observes that Hoshang Shah lamented the loss of so much good land and ordered the embankment across the Betwa to be destroyed.[2] Kincaid holds the same view and says that the lesser but higher *band* was broken by Hoshang Shah for the purpose of utilizing the bed of the lake, and though tradition relates that he never personally benefited by this act, the fact of the present fertility of the valley still growing the best wheat in the country proves his practical statesmanship, however much we may regret the loss of water-storage of such rare size and beauty for India.[3] The Persian historians, however, say that Hoshang Shah destroyed the dam because he felt that without destroying the dam and inundating the water he would not be able to destroy the turbulent chiefs of the region

Hoshang Shah's motives certainly could not have been his desire to reclaim the fertile land lying under water nor his action a deliberate step of statesmanship. The expedition was undertaken almost towards the end of his reign, and this vast sheet of water could not have been inundated in a brief period, and the tradition of the Gonds that "it took an army of them three months to cut through the dam and that the lake took three years to empty while its bed was not habitable for thirty years afterwards"[4] may be accepted as nearer the truth. However, it can be said to the credit of Hoshang Shah that he inadvertently bequeathed the most fertile tract of land which produces in abundance the best wheat.

1 *Bhopal Gazetteer*, p. 94.

2 *J.A.S.B.* XVI (1847), p. 740

3 *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, p. 350.

4 *Bhopal Gazetteer*, p. 94; *Ma'athir-u-Mahmudshahi*, fol. 43b Hoshang Shah supervised the destruction of half of the dam and then leaving behind a contingent of men to complete the task, himself moved in the direction of the hills to chastise the chiefs.

APPENDIX D

JAINS IN MEDIEVAL MALWA

THOUGH the term Jain would apply to anyone who is a follower of Jainsim, by some curious coincidence a major section of the Vaishya became followers of Jainism and mostly remained engaged in trade and commerce As a business community the Jains flourished from ancient times Being associated with non-violence and non-injury to living creatures on the one hand and their unending financial resources on the other, the Jains were considered as useful by the monarchs The rulers encouraged them to set up their *kothis* in their kingdoms and extended protection to them The Jain merchants in return, helped the rulers with cash whenever it was needed Besides their financial assets, the reputation of the Jains for honesty often prompted the monarchs to appoint them as treasurers Thus handling of cash both at personal and state level became associated with them

The establishment of Turkish rule in Northern India did not much alter their position That they continued to advance money to the sultans and in return received honours, is amply borne out by the various instances mentioned in the Jain books. In some of the verses of the *Kāvya Manohar*, composed in the fifteenth century, it is mentioned that Sahanpāl was prominent during the reign of Muiz-ud-Din. He gave financial help to Jalal-ud-Din and his son was honoured by the Tughlaq ruler.[1] In the *Pi ashasti* of one of the illuminated *Kalpasutras*, composed in 1555 V S /A.D. 1498, we find mention of one Sihā, again belonging to the Vahkatā *gotra* of Shrimāl group of the Vaishyas, who

[1] *Kavya Manohar*, pp 25, 26

समजनि कुलप्रदीप तदङ्गज· सहणपालनामेडय· ।
यो मोजदीननृपतेर्लेभे सर्वप्रधानमुख्यत्वम् ।।
आसीत्ततो वशधुरं दधानो नैणाभिधानो गुणकीर्त्यमान· ।
श्रीमत्सुरत्राणपरंपराईजलालदीनार्पितसर्वमुद्र· ।। १०।।
तस्याभूत्तनयो दुसाजुरिति यो नाम्न गरिष्ठःसता
नून सम्प्रति चण्डराउलमहद्राज्ये प्रधानेश्वर: ।
तद्वच्छीरुगलक्कसाहिनृपतिर्यस्मै ददौ सादर
श्रीमन्मेरुतमानदेशममलं त्वाकारयित्वा त्मनि ।।१२।।

became famous for his charities and was appointed as *Tankasāl*[1] (incharge of mint) by Ghiyath-ud-Din Tughlaq[1]

The last quarter of the fourteenth century witnessed the disintegration and decay of the Dehli Sultanate, and the resultant confusion and disorder proved detrimental to the interest of the trading community Thus the creation of the Provincial kingdoms was welcomed by them and they soon began to migrate and settle in the capitals and other trading centres of these newly founded kingdoms The establishment of the independent kingdom of Malwa by Dilawar Khan Ghuri also attracted the Jain merchants to come to Malwa The new Sultan also felt the need of financial help for economic prosperity of his kingdom and encouraged the Jains to come and settle in his kingdom

With the accession of Hoshang Shah and re-establishment of his authority after release from Gujarat captivity, the policy of encouraging the Jains in Malwa seems to have received particular attention of the sultan The revenues of the state could be realised only after the harvest or when they were due, whereas the sultan required ready cash earlier Sultan Hoshang seems to have recognised in the Jain financiers a source for supply of cash and the Jains also found in the state a sound place for investment Thus the extension of the royal patronage towards the Jains led to their activity in Malwa To restore confidence of the Jains, Hoshang Shah honoured them by associating them with his government The Jains had a reputation for their honesty in handling cash Hoshang Shah appointed Nardeva Soni as his *Bhandārika*[2] (treasurer) and associated him in his council Nardeva had become famous for his charities, as his son Sangram Singh Soni mentions that, his charities knew no bounds and all returned to their places after receiving full satisfaction from Nardeva [3]

[1] *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, IV, 87

ढिल्लीपुरे दानगुणैर्वदान्य श्रीम्यामसाहिक्षितिपालमान्य ।
सीहाभिधोऽभूद्भुवि टंकशाली गागेयवन्निर्मलशीलशाली ।।

[2] *Buddhi Sagar*, Prashasti

हुमड्गक्षितिपालसमदि सता मान्य परार्थैकवृद्धाण्डागारधुरन्धर – (४२)

[3] *Ibid.*

नरदेवजसंग्रामागणमाश्रित्य मार्गणा । लब्धवा लक्ष पुन स्थानमायान्ति स्वयमङ्ग तम – (४४)

Mandan, another Jain of the Shrimal caste, became well known in the reign of Hoshang Shah. Mandan was a successful businessman and earned a good deal of wealth through his business. While he extended his charities and lavishly donated for the establishment of Jain monastries, he neither neglected his business nor failed to assist Sultan Hoshang Shah with his financial aids Sultan Hoshang Shah also in return honoured him.[1]

Mahmud Khalji I continued the policy of extending patronage to the Jains, and during his reign the religious activities of the Jains took greater impetus. Mandu became one of the centres of rich Jain merchants who lavishly subscribed for the transcription of Jain *Kalpasutras* Many Jain temples also seem to have been constructed during this period. It is, of course, difficult to say definitely if this patronage to the Jains was purely motivated by the desire of the sultan to get financial help from the Jains and to encourage trade and commerce or it was an outcome of the policy of religious toleration extended by the sultan towards his subjects The outcome, of these rich merchants setting up their business houses in the capital of the kingdom, was certainly a flourishing state of trade and commerce of the kingdom.

During the reign of Mahmud Khalji we find Sangrām Singh son of Nardeva Soni, occupying the same position that his father had enjoyed during the reign of Hoshang Shah. That Sangrām Singh enjoyed the confidence of Sultan Mahmud is borne out from the *Prashasti* of *Buddhi Sāgar*.[2] Sangram Singh accompanied Mahmud Khalji in his Deccan campaigns and completed his *Buddhi Sāgar* at Pratisthānpura (Paithan) on the Godavari[3]

[1] *Kavya Manohar*, pp. 1, 2.
स श्लाघ्यो जनकः सुकीर्तिविशदः सद्भागधेयावृतः
श्रीमानालमसाहिदत्तनिखिलव्यापारमानोन्नति. ।
नित्यानेकपरोपकारजलधि. श्रीमालवंशोद्भवः ।
श्रीमद्बाहडसङ्घपो विजयते येनायमाप्तः सुत ।।१५।।

[2] *Buddhi Sagar*, Prashsti
खलवी श्रीमहमूदसाहिनृपतेर्विश्वासमुद्राधरः, सग्रामः
स्वकलत्रमित्रविलसत् पुत्रैश्चिरं जीवतु ।। ४६।।

[3] *Ibid.*
नरवेषुभ् १५२० सम्मितविक्रमाब्दे १३८५ मिते च शाके ।
चैत्रस्य षष्ठयां सितपक्षजायां, शुक्रस्य वारे शशिभे गविन्दौ ।।५६।।

(*Continued on next page*)

where he seems to have gone for a holy dip in A.D. 1463. Sangram Singh, on his part, to retain the favour of the sultan did not fail to praise him in his composition [1]

In one of the copies of the *Kalpasutra*[2] which was transcribed in Mandu in 1555 V.S./A.D 1498, we find mention of another Jain family flourishing in the capital during the reign of Mahmud Khalji I. In this family Jasvīr became quite prominent He visited many of the places of Jain pilgrimage and distributed charity everywhere He set up fifty-two *Sanghpatis* and was himself honoured with the title of *Sangheshwara.*[3] Jasvīr was also associated with the government He held an important post in the principality (*Jagir*) of *Shahzada* Ghiyath Shah [4]

It seems that the Jain merchants had unchecked access in all the kingdoms where they used to go either for trade or for pilgrimage, and it is not unlikely that they used to bring information about the internal condition prevailing in the kingdoms they visited and supplied them to their rulers. We find that in 1511 V S./A D 1454 Jasvir visited Mewar and also the court of

(*Continued from pre-page*)

चापोदये वीर्ययुतश्च खेटै श्रीमालवेशे महमूदभूपे ।
जेतु महिपालनिजामसाहि, युद्धेन याते दिशि दक्षिणस्याम् ।। ४७ ।।
लसत् प्रतिस्थानपुरेऽतिरम्ये, गोदावरीतीरतरगपूते ।
जिन प्रणम्येह सुबुद्धिसिन्धु, सग्रामसिह कुरुते कवीन्द्र ।। ४८।।

[1] *Ibid.*

श्रीमद्दक्षिणभूपति जितवत· कुम्भेभपञ्चाननस्योद्यद्गर्जर–
गर्वपर्वतमहत्पक्षच्छिदो ग्राह्य (वण) (?वाण·) ।

[2] *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad,* IV, p 92.

तत्रैक स्वर्णमय विलेखयित्वैव पुस्तक शस्तम् ।
पचदशपचपचाशद्वर्षे फाल्गुने मासि ।।
जसधीरसघनायकभार्याकुमरी सधर्ममयकार्या ।
सोमध्वजसुगुरुणा प्रददौ लसदौचिती चतुरा ।।

[3] *Ibid*, p. 89

. . .पचाशद्द्विकयुक्तसघपतयो येन स्वय स्थापिता,
स श्रीमान् जसवीर इत्यभिधया सघेश्वरस्तत्सुत ।।

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 89

पुत्रस्तयो: श्रीजसवीरनामा कामाभिरामाकृतिरूपधारी ।
श्रीग्यासदीनस्य हि यौवराज्ये, प्रधानता य प्रबभार राज्ये ।।

Rana Kumbha where he was honoured by the Rana[1] It may be mentioned here that these were the years of trouble for Rana Kumbha while Mahmud Khalji was constantly pressing for the conquest of Mandalgarh From A D 1454 to A D 1457, Rana Kumbha remained engaged with the Rathors and Mahmud Khalji conquered Mandalgarh Jasvii, having his business set up in Mandu, visiting the court of Rana Kumbha with whom the Mandu Sultan had no cordial relations, and subsequent successful attack on Mandalgarh by Mahmud Khalji following the return of Jasvii, are all circumstances which create strong suspicion that Jasvii might have supplied the information of Rana Kumbha's troubles with the Rathors

Ghiyath Shah not only continued the policy of his father but seems to have encouraged them still more. That the Jains were happy and prosperous in his reign is borne out from the praises that have been lavished on Mandu[2] in the *Prashasti* of the *Kalpasutra* transcribed in A D 1498 The Jains had become more closely associated with the administration and received various titles from Sultan Ghiyath Shah Punjaraj (Munja Baqqal) was made *Wazir* of the *Khalsa* lands and was given the title of *Mafar-ul-Mulk*[3] a title which Punjaraj has mentioned

[1] *Ibid*, p 89

चचत्प्राभृतदानरंजितमना सन्मानपूर्व्वं स्वय
यद्भूपाले विपुले चकार तिलक श्रीकुभकर्णो नृप ॥

[2] *Ibid*, p 88.

यत्राप्सरस्सुरक्ता अनिमिषलक्षा: सदा विलोक्यन्ते ।
विलसन्सुपर्व्वकलित सुनदनं श्रीमनोहारि ॥
सुरुचिररंभारामाभिरामसभ्यं तथा सुधर्म्मस्थ ।
स्व पुरमनुकुरुते यत्सकन्दनरहितमपि नगरं ॥
रत्नेर्वास्ति कुतूहलं नहि फलं नो नागवल्लीदलं
पुष्पाणा पटल तदस्ति न दल नो तज्जलं निर्मल ।
नो तद्गानमभीष्टदानमथवा विज्ञानमप्यद्भुतम्
नो सन्माननमानयानमनिशं यत्रात्र सप्राप्यते ॥
नो तच्छर्म न धर्म कर्म न पुनस्तद्मर्म नो नर्मत
नो ते सति भटा न चापि सुभटा नास्ते गजाना घटा ।
तन्नास्ते वसन श्रियो विलसनं तन्नाशन चासन
यच्छीमण्डपनामधेयनगरे न प्रेक्ष्यते प्राणिभि

[3] *Saraswat Vyakarana*, Prashasti (Ms.)

in the *Prashasti* of the commentary that he wrote on *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* Sangram Singh Soni, whom we find enjoying confidence in the reign of Mahmud Khalji I, received the title of *Naqd-ul-Mulk*[1] from Ghiyath Shah

Towards the later part of the reign of Ghiyath Shah, it seems that these prominent Jains had started meddling in politics and also that there existed some kind of rivalry among the Jains Thus we find Siva Das *Baqqal* siding with *Shahzada* Nasir Shah while Munja *Baqqal* (Punjaraj) siding with the partisans of *Shahzada* Shuja'at Khan and *Rani* Khurshid Of course in this contest both of them lost their lives The former being executed by the order of the Sultan and the latter being assassinated by the partisans of Nasir Shah The accession of Nasir Shah, however, does not seem to have altered the position of the Jains who continued to enjoy the royal favour Sangram Singh Soni (*Naqd-ul-Mulk*) retained his position throughout his reign With the accession of Mahmud Khalji II the political atmosphere in the capital as well as in the kingdom considerably changed and the Jains also gradually lost their position The Muslim nobles did not like the influence exercised by this section, and as Firishta says, the *amirs* being apprehensive that they might not become too powerful assassinated Basant Rai and procured order from the new Sultan for the expulsion of *Naad-ul-Mulk* (Sangram Singh Soni) With the exit of Sangram Singh Soni the influence of the Jains in the court also declined The Jains on their part also lost interest in the kingdom of Malwa as they found the political condition not conducive to their trade and the state no more a safe place either for investment or for stay

Besides their interest in trade and commerce and accumulation of wealth, the Jains were very much devoted to their religion. They patronised the Jain places of pilgrimage and lavishly donated for the construction of Jain temples and establishment of Jain monastries Their spirit of charity, led them to render financial assistance to the people in distress, particularly

[1] *Brihad Pavvalik Pattavali*

श्रीज्ञानसागरसूरीणा मुखात् मंडपदुर्गनिवासिव्यवहारिचर्य्य–पातशाही श्रीखिलचीमहिम्मदशाहसदीनसुरत्राणप्रदत्त 'नगदलमलिक' विरुदधर-साधुश्रीसंघरामसापणिकनामा सवतिक श्रीपंचमाङ्ग श्रुत्वा.

in times of scarcity. Thus, we find Jasdhīr son of Jasvīr helping[1] the distressed people of Malwa by distributing their requirements in 1542 V.S /A.D 1485

As a result of the policy of the Malwa Sultans of patronising the Jains and granting them full religious freedom, the rich Jain merchants very soon set up Jinālays (temples) in many places of which special mention may be made of Mandu, Dhar, Ujjain, Ashta (Asa Nagar), Hoshangabad and Mandsaur (Dasur). The extent to which the Jains enjoyed religious freedom can be imagined from a poetical composition, *Mandapāchal Chaitya Paripāti* consisting of twenty-three verses, which was written about 1550 V.S./A.D. 1493 by Khemraj. The work mentions that there were twenty-two temples containing about five hundred and sixty two Jain images. The same work mentions that the temple of Neminath at Hoshangabad contained twenty-four images[2]

[1] *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, IV, p. 91

दुष्कालापगमे महाजनगण वागादिविश्रावनैं
कोसुंभै समलचकार वसनैं मुश्राविकाश्रेणिका ।
नानाधान्यधनासनाढयवसनालंकारसस्कारवत्
प्रेषन्कूलदुकूलदानविधिना विश्वोपकाख्य (?र) दधात् ।
श्राद्धश्रेणिशिरोमणिर्द्वयचतु पन्चैकसंख्यामिते ।
वर्षे हर्षभरेण सत्त्वसहित· श्रीमालमालामणि· ।।

[2] *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihas Parishad*, II, pp 84-6.

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IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS (PERSIAN)

795 H (Sun 17th November 1392 to Wednes: 6th November 1393 A D.)
—During the reign of Mahmud Shah .... Dilawar Khan,, who

again renewed the whole of Malwa, rebuilt them Ins in the Tomb of Kamal Maula, Dhar, p 16, 1909-10, ZH

795 H (Sun 17th November 1392 to Wednes- 6th November 1393 A D) —The emperor Muhammad Shah, son of Firoz Shah, during sovereignty of this King (by) Dilawar Khan, who is a distinguished noble of the Court, this mosque was built —Ins in a mosque at Chanderi, Gwalior State, p 16, 1925-6 RSS

807 H RAJAB 15 (Satur- 17th January 1405 A D) — Amid Shah Daud Ghori, the slave made this Jami Masjid in the city of Dhar in Mandu Garh Ins in the Lat Masjid, Dhar, p 13 1909-10, ZH

807 H (Thurs 10th July 1404 to Sun 28th June 1405 A D) Amid Shah Daud Ghori . Dilawar Khan disciple of Nasir Din Mahmud built Jami Masjid in the city of Dhar Ins in the Lat Masjid, Dhar, p 12, 1909-10, ZH

807 H (Thurs 10th July 1404 to Sun 28th June 1405 A D) — The peon the Patwari and the riot of the village should know him to be tax-collector of the city of Shadiabad Twenty bigas of land . digging up a well and planting a garden in it . the progeny and descendants of Gopal Baras (This) has been built Ins in Badr Shah, Mandu, Dhar, p. 28, 1909-10, ZH

808 H (Mon 29th June 1405 to Thurs 17thJune 1406 A D) — Nasiru'd-Din Dilawar Khan built this Jami Masjid in the fort of Mandu was completed Ins in a mosque at Mandu Dhar p 21, 1909-10, ZH

809 H (Fri 18th June 1406 to Tues 5th June 1407 A.D) — Dilawar Khan constructed in the city of Shadiabad a gate, an equal to which no one could find in Daulatabad Ins on the Tarapur Gate, Mandu, Dhar, p 19 1909-10, ZH

814 H. JUMADI-I 25 (Mon. 14th September 1411 A.D) — The building of this fort . (was undertaken) . during the administration of Dilawar Khan (under the direction of) Junaid, son of Zaid Adnan Ins on the Delhi Darwaza, Chanderi Fort, Gwalior State. p 17, 1925-6, RSS

833 H. SAFAR (Sun. 30th October to Sun 27th November 1429 A D) —During the reign of Hoshang Shah . about the time that the Viceroy of this province was Nasir'd-Daulah Umar, the son of Husain, built this structure Ins found in Chanderi, p 22, 1926-6, RSS.

835 H SHAWWAL End (21 to 29) (Satur 21st to Sun. 29th June 1432 A D)—Friday, 4th (Rajab) in 835 and six months from Hijra, the days of the month having been counted according to the Arabic system that this mosque was founded was built by Masnad-i-Ali Mughithu'd-Din wa'd-Dunya Ulugh Azam Humayun the Khan end of Shawwal . completed May Mahmud Shah be ever adorned . —Ins. on the Mosque of Humayun Khan in Mandu, Dhar, p 21, 1909-10, ZH.

840 H Zi'LQA'DA 25 (Satur - June 1437 A.D.) — Mujahid Khan, son of Shama Khan Ghazi after the tumult of Mukul,

the accursed, conquered and captured the towns of Dindwana, Sambhar and Naraina and built afresh forts and mosques, at the request of the nobles and chiefs built this tank on the site of royal fields styled as Mustafasar . Ins in a tank at Naraina, Jaipur State, p 16, 1923-4, GY

851 H (Sun 19th March 1447 to Wednes . 6th March 1448 A D)—During the reign of . Shah Mahmud of Khalji dynasty built it like a Rouza Ins in Nalcha, Mandu, Dhar, p 29, 1909-10, ZH

858 H (Tues : 1st January to Sat 21st December 1454 A D)—The founder of this mosque the king Hoshang Ghori . The King said to Mahmud Khalji complete the Jami Masjid He finished this building according to the parting advice .. Ins in the Jami Masjid in Mandu, Dhar, pp 22-3, 1909-10, ZH

859 H (Sun . 22nd December 1454 to Wednes . 10th December, 1455 A D) —Shaikh Abdu'llah Shah Changal This dome over this grave This lion man came to this old temple with a large force, he broke the images . turned temple into mosque When Rai Bhoj saw this embraced Islam with the family . Now this tomb has been pilgrimage-place . The Khalji King Mahmud Shah . built afresh this old structure From the Hijra it was 859 that its date was written a new .. Ins on the Tomb of Abdu'llah Shah Changal, Dhar; pp. 3-5 1909-10, GY.

862 H MUHARRAM 1 (Satur : 19th November 1457 A.D.)—This grand mosque was built during the reign of . Mahmud Shah Khalji .. by . Maliku'sh-Sharq Saifu'l Mulk Khujandi .. Ins. in a mosque on the Lohangi Hill at Bhilsa, p. 8, 1929-30; MHQ.

866 H. (Tues : 6th October 1461 to Satur : 25th September 1462 A D.)— This is a Garden of Paradise of . Qutb Kamal .. during his reign . Mahmud Shah Khalji Established them anew in .. 861 ..Ins on the Tomb of Kamal Maula, Dhar; pp. 14-5, 1909-10, ZH and p 9, 1911-2, GY.

889 H SIDDHI, SAM. 1540 Phalgun Vadya 5 Wednesday (18th February 1484 A.D) (Persian) —Son of Mahmud Shah Sultan.. Khan Sher Khan, the fief holder .. province of Chanderi, the jizya, the hunter's tax, the police tax . Bhonrasa (and its) suburbs . baqqal (the grocer) the grocers and artisans from the current year onward,

(Hindi) :—(In the reign of) Maharajadhiraja Shri Sultan Ghiyath Shah lord of Chanderi province .. Bhonrasa town .. Ins. on the main gate of the Fort of Bhonrasa, Gwalior State; pp. 24-6, 1937-8; RSS.

892 H (Thurs : 28th December 1486 to Sun : 16th December 1487 A.D.)— On the date of the victory .. year 892 . in the reign of .. Mahmud Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, the son of Humayun Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah, the ruler, the Bahamanid .... Ins. on the Mahakah Gate, Narnala Fort near Gawil, Berar; p 13, 1907-8; TWH.

893 H. RAJAB 8 (Wednes . 18th June 1488 A.D.)—This is the resting

place of Malıku'sh-Sharq, Malıku'-T-Tujjar Rahmatu'llah Died on the 8th of Rajab, 893 Ins on a grave-stone in the Gumbaz ka Maqbara Bhilsa, p 9, 1929-30, RSS

910 H (Fri. 15th June 1504 to Tues 3rd June 1505 A D) — Built by Shaikh Idıak Ins in the Tal Masjid, Mandu, Dhar, p 24, 1909-10, ZH

914 H (Tues: 2nd May 1508 to Fri 20th April 1509 A D) — During the time of Nasiruddin the Sultan . and Khaqan Ins. in Baz Bahadur ka Mahal, Mandu, Dhar, p 24, 1909-10, ZH.

Undated —In the name of God the best of names During the reign of World-wide glory like Sulaiman, the exalted monarch of the age and a crowned king What a king who is brightert han the Sun and the Moon, the lord of the Universe, Hoshang Shah. A hero of Chanderi, elephant-like in body, and like a lion by whom other lions have been over-awed This well has been constructed in the time of the chosen and peerless Amir Nasir, a chief of the East by Jaika son of Biku *maqmuadar* Ins. in the inner masonery of Tapa Baoli in Chanderi, p 43, 1939-40

Note:— Page No. and year refer to *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
GY = Dr G Yazdani, MHQ = Muhammad Hamid Qureishi; RSS = Ram Singh Saksena, TWH = Major T W Haig; ZH = Khan Bahadur Zafar Hasan

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS (HINDI AND SANSKRIT)

S 146 (?) Kadwaha (Guna) Sati memorial Lines 8 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of Ahir Sati in the kingdom of Dilawar Khan ARGA V S 1975 No 115

S 146 (?) Kadwaha (Guna) Sati memorial in Garhi Lines 7 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi. Mentions of sati of Rawal Kushal's wife in the kingdom of Dilawar Khan. ARGA. V.S 1980 No 11.

S 1476/1419 A.D. Gudai (Shivpuri or Sipri) Sati memorial Lines 11 Script. Nagri, Lan. Hindi. Mentions of a Sati in village Gudai in Distt of Chanderi during the rule of Qadir Khan ARGA, V.S 1986, No 27.

S 1481/1424 A.D Saka 1346=1424 A D Lahtpur, Found in the ruins of old Deogarh fort Script, Nagri Lan Sanskrit Mentions of the dedication of two images of Padmanandi and Damansant by Holi, a Jain priest in the reign of Shah Alambhak of Mandappura JASB LII, pp 67-80

S. 1485/1428 A.D. Nadeli (Guna) Sati memorial Lines 7 Script, Nagri, Lan. Sanskrit Mentions of a Sati of a 'Lohar' blacksmith woman in village Gular in the reign of Shah Alim. Gives also Saka 1350. ARGA V S 1981 No. 24.

S 1486/1428 A.D Gudar, (Shivpuri or Sipri) Sati memorial Lines 10 Script, Nagri. Lan. Hindi. Refers to Chanderi and Hoshang Shah of Mandu as Ruler ARGA V.S. 1986, No. 25.

S 1504/1447 A.D — Kadwaha (Guna) Inscription in the Gathi Lines 8. Script Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of the reign of Sultan Mahmud Khalji ARGA V S 1984 No 52

S 1504/1447 A D — Kadwaha (Guna) Inscription in the Gathi Lines 14 Script Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of the reign of Sultan Mahmud Khalji ARGA V S 1984 No 53

S 1505/1448 A D. — Mandsaur Simple inscription Lines 8 Script Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of an oath for Hindus and Muslims ARGA V S 1974 No 10

S 1510/1453 A D — Upam Pillar Inscription Lines 10 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa (Not intelligible) ARGA V.S 1992 No 55.

S 1510/1453 A D. — Sakaira (Guna) Sati Memorial Lines 10 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi. Mentions of Khalji Sultan of Malwa ARGA 1984 of 89

S 1516/1459 A D — Bawangaja (Barwani State) Script Nagri, Lan Sanskrit. Inscription on the gate of a temple at the summit of the hill Mentions of Shri Ratnakirti repairing the temple and consecration of an image in the reign of Mahmud of the Soonsheda family JASB XVIII 1849, pp 951-52

S 1519/1462 A D — Bhaktan (Guna) Sati memorial Lines 12 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of a sati in the reign of Sultan Mahmud (Khalji) ARGA V S 1975 No 109

S 1521/1464 A D — Chanderi (Guna) Sati memorial Lines 15. Script, Nagri, Lan Sanskrit (mixed with Hindi). Mentions of a Sati of a *Sonar* (goldsmith) woman in the reign of Sultan Mahmud ARGA V.S 1974 No. 1

S 1524/1467 A.D — Madankheri (Guna). Sati memorial. Lines 9 Script, Nagri. Lan. Sanskrit Mentions of a Sati at Madankheri in Pargana Mungawali, Distt Chanderi Mentions Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Mandu and Sher Khan of of Chanderi ARGA V S. 1975 No. 74.

S 1525/1468 A D — Singhpur (Guna). Inscription in a *Baodi* (Water Reservoir) Lines 36. Script, Nagri. Lan. Sanskrit and Prakrit. Mentions of the construction of a wall in the reign of Sultan Ghiyath Shah of Mandu. ARGA. V.S 1981. No 33

S 1527/1470 A.D — Naderi (Guna). Inscription on a stone slab Lines 26 Script, Nagri Lan. Sanskrit (Corrupt). Mentions of the construction of a well by Bhova Deo son of Hari Singh Deo in the reign of Muhammad Shah Khalji (Ghyath Shah). ARGA V.S. 1984 No 46.

S. 1534/1477 A D — Madan kheri (Guna). Sati memorial. Lines 11. Script, Nagri Lan. Hindi Mentions of a Sati in the reign of Ghiyath Shah. ARGA. V S. 1975 No. 73.

S 1540 - H 888/1483 A D — Bhaurasa (Bhilsa). Pillar Inscription. Lines 28, Script Nagri and Naskh. Lan. Hindi, Arabic and Persian

Mentions of a gift and oath during the reign of Ghiyath Shah as Sultan of Mandu and Sher Khan of Chanderi The inscription prohibits on oath of Cow for the Hindus and Pig for the Musalmans, to interfere in the matter of gift

S 1545/1488 A D Budhi Chanderi (Guna) Inscription on a slab Lines 15 Script Nagri, Lan. Hindi Mentions of the memorial being set up by Ratana the son of a Sati in the reign of Rajadhiraj Ghiyathuddin of Mandu, at Nasirabad (As Budhi-Chanderi was named) ARGA V S 1981 No 3

S 1545/1488 A D Udaipur (Bhilsa) Inscription on Wall Lines 5 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of Ghiyath Shah of Mandu, Malwa Udaipur, and Sher Khan of Chanderi Construction of a mosque (mentions Sher Khan as Subah) ARGA V S 1984 No 24

S 1545/1488 A D. Udaipur (Bhilsa) Inscription on the wall of a moque near Moti Gate Lines, 5 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of the construction of mosque when Ghiyath Shah was ruling at Mandapgarh, and Sher Khan was governor of Chanderi, and Abdus Sara was Gumashta of Udaipur Mentions the names of some masons (Sutradhari) —(?) son of Satalu, Mahaiu, Punamu, Dilhana Narsingh and Chhutamma ARGA V S 1986 No 4

S 1547/1490 A D Chanderi (Guna) Inscription on Slab Lines 17 Script, Nagri Lan Sanskrit (Corrupt) Mentions of the construction of gate and putting the name by Chiman Khan. ARGA V S 1971 No 38

S 1555/1498 A D Rakheta (Guna) A tablet above footprints in rock near big Jain sculpture. Lines 5 Script, Nagri Lan Sanskrit Mentions of construction of *Padachinha* (footprints) in the reign of Sultan Ghiyath Shah ARGA V.S 1981 No 28.

S 1555/1498 A D Mandsaur Lines 9 Script, Nagri Lan Hindi Mentions of Mukabil (Muqbil) Khan and an oath. ARGA V S 1974 No 9

S 1555/1498 A D Mandsaur Garh (Mandsaur) Inscription on wall Lines 9 Script, Nagri Lan. Hindi (Not intelligible) Mentions of Mukabil (Muqbil) Khan ARGA V S 1970 No 20

S 1561/1504 A.D Miana (Guna), Sati memorial Lines 10 Script, Nagri Lan Sanskrit mixed with Local Hindi Mentions of a Sati in the Chaudhari Family (Dynasty) and of the reign of Sultan Nasir Shah. ARGA V S 1975.

S. 1569/1512 A D Bijari (Shivapuri) Sati memorial Lines 10. Script, Nagri Lan. Sanskrit mixed with Hindi Mentions of a Sati in the reign of Mahmud Nasir Shahi. ARGA V.S 1975 No. 96

S. 1577/1520 A.D. Nader (Guna) Inscription on a Slab Lines 29. Script,

Nagri Lau Sanskrit (Corrupt). Meaning not clear Mentions of the reign of Mahmud Shah Khalji Also Saka 1442

Note: — ARGA - Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State

JASB - Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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clearly in' ·ate the role of the provincial kingdoms in the development of industry and commerce. The four appendices analyse some controversial topics The appendix on "The Jains in Malwa" examines their place in the political and economic life of medieval India The one on "The Sources" makes for the first time a correct assessment of *Ma'athir-l-Mahmudshahi*, the contemporary Persian official history written in Malwa and brings out that the work was completed in A D 1468. Thus, it is a comprehensive history of the Kingdom of Malwa and fills in one of the long felt gaps in the study of the Provincial Kingdoms and their role in Medieval Indian History The work is substantially the thesis approved for the Ph.D degree of the Delhi University.

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